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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 171

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PARTY AND STATE

'AFP' CITES PROPOSALS FOR NEXT PRC CONSTITUTION

OW091531 Paris AFP in English 1519 GMT 9 Mar 81

[Article by Elisabeth Chang]

[Text] Beijing, March 9 (AFP)--The government seems set on restoring the presidency of the People's Republic and imposing restrictions on the theoretical rights and liberties of the people under the next constitution.

This was the forecast to emerge from a 10-point list of constitutional proposals published in the latest issue of the review Democracy and Legality.

An article in the review suggested that the next Chinese president have concrete and widespread powers including command of the armed forces, leadership of the government and the right to declare a state of emergency in times of trouble or war.

The presidency in China was abolished when the late chairman Mao Zedong's arch-rival, Liu Shaoqi, was ousted in 1968. Revival of the presidency was first envisaged in 1968, but later abandoned in the face of considerable reserve in ruling circles.

The review said that revival of the presidency was a "normal and reasonable" move aimed at avoiding undue concentration of power.

"If he who directs the affairs of the standing committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) takes on the functions of head of state, then the state system and legality are imperfect," the article said.

Current president of the standing committee, Marshal Ye Jianying, only exercises protocol duties as head of state. Aged 83, he is considered to have reservations about the policies spearheaded by China's de-facto leader Deng Xiaoping.

The article said a new president should be of "noble character" and a figure "held in esteem" by the public. The president could only be made to step down if he violated the constitution or the law, the article suggested.

The decision to revise the present constitution which dates from 1978 was made by the NPC last year in a bid to wipe out "ultra-leftist" influences inherited from the cultural revolution.

The article also urged that the constitution should be revised to cut back on liberties and rights theoretically enjoyed by Chinese citizens.

It called for a specific ban on the publication of works justifying or defending murder, terrorism or pornography, and all statements likely to incite the population to "sabotage public order" and "infringe" the liberty of others.

The new constitution should draw inspiration from various foreign models, particularly those with a long history of "struggle against feudalism and fascism," the article said.

Personality cults would be completely banned from the constitution, the review suggested, and it advocated making the slogan "the people's interest above everything" the motto of the people's republic, in the same way that "liberty, fraternity, equality" is that of France.

Other proposals for the new constitution include extending the powers of the NPC and improving the work of its deputies who would be forced to attend a minimum number of NPC activities or lose their seats.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

JIANG QING'S FAREWELL PERFORMANCE RECOUNTED

Hong Kong ZHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 39, 1 Jan 81 pp 22-25

[Article by Liu Ying [2692 3853]: "Jiang Qing's Farewell Performance"]

[Text] When Jiang Qing said farewell to her acting career over 40 years ago could she ever have thought that her "farewell performance" would be held in a courtroom at No. 1 Zhengyi Road in Beijing?

The courthouse holding rooms can be compared to dressing room. At 3:00 p.m. on 20 November 1980, Jiang Qing prepared for the beginning of act one of her "farewell performance" in a special "dressing room" at No. 1 Zhengyi Road in Beijing.

Jiang Qing appeared quite calm and a light smile played about the corners of her mouth. Her guards, on the other hand, appeared to be rather tense.

It is no wonder they appeared tense. During the pre-trial Jiang Qing several times made a great uproar in the courtroom. Moreover, right up until the opening of the formal trial, she was working on a seven-point declaration which she asked to present to the court....

Beat People, Remove One's Clothing, "Rebellion is Justified"

In preparation for this "big case" the concerned departments carried out several preliminary trials. During these "rehearsal" preliminary trials, Jiang Qing's performance gave the "directors" cause for worry and concern.

One time she even hit someone so the court "director" had no choice but to put handcuffs on her.

One day she even removed her clothing so that the male pre-trial personnel could not even enter the courtroom. Finally, the "director" got the upper hand by turning off the heat to the room, which then became so cold that Jiang Qing had to put her clothing back on.

When Jiang Qing replied to the questions of the pre-trial personnel her "script" underwent a great many changes and she frequently came out with new tricks.

Sometimes she would reply by saying, "I was carrying out the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao so that if you say that I am anti-revolutionary then you are saying that Chairman Mao is anti-revolutionary."

Sometimes she would simply reply by screaming, "Rebellion is justified!"

She also made two requests of the pre-trial personnel. The first was to have all the confiscated documents returned to her so that she could examine them as a basis for preparing her defense. The second was to have Hua Guofeng be a witness for the defense. She said, "I was not the person who directed the suppression in the Tiananmen Incident. The person who was Minister of Public Safety at that time can vouch for me in this matter." The Minister of Public Safety at that time was none other than Hua Guofeng.

There is another famous line from Jiang Qing's "script" during the preliminary trial: "You are just making the wife pay for the husband's debts. I am nothing more than a dog and when you beat a dog you first ought to see who owns it!"

Just before the formal trial began Jiang Qing informed the court that she had prepared a seven-point declaration and requested permission to read it to the court.

The court of course denied permission and told her that she would later have an opportunity for discussion and debate as well as a final defense and could make her statement at that time.

Jiang Qing agreed to this.

Jiang Qing's Seven-Point Declaration

Would Jiang Qing have an opportunity to read her seven-point declaration at the first session of court? Those who were aware of these conditions could not help being nervous.

Jiang Hua [3068 5478] the presiding judge spoke into the microphone saying, "Bring in the defendant Jiang Qing!"

Two policewomen brought Jiang Qing into the courtroom. Her manner showed considerable assurance.

The lights in the courtroom were very bright and the television cameras, movie cameras and and photographer's cameras were all focused upon Jiang Qing. In the galleries over 800 pairs of eyes were also all focused on her.

A faint smile played about the corners of her mouth as she confidently and fearlessly looked upon the people surrounding her and slowly walked to her own "throne." After taking her seat she looked at the

people sitting to her left and her right. On her left was Huang Yongsheng [7806 3075 0524], sitting humpbacked, bent at the waist and slack-jawed, looking altogether idiotic. On her left was Wu Faxian [0702 3127 2009] looking even more vulgar and disreputable. Further to her left, close to Huang Yongsheng, sat Chen Boda looking very much changed even to the point of being unrecognizable. On the far left sat Zhang Chunqiao who seemed to be in much better emotional condition but who looked like a country bumpkin because of his clothes and shaved head.... Of the nine "male roles" only Jiang Qing's clansman Jiang Tengjiao [3068 7506 5754] was relatively presentable in his neat Chinese tunic suit of good quality and with a proper haircut. He had a somewhat Confucian air about him, not the unkempt manner of the other military men.

"I'm Cooperating Very Well, Aren't I!"

"Act one" was the reading of the indictment to which the defendant was not permitted to reply.

The indictment was twenty thousand characters long and the chief procurator Huang Huoqing [7806 3499 7230] read until his lips were cracked and his mouth parched, barely managing to finish.

As soon as Huang Huoqing finished reading Jiang Qing stood up and was about to leave.

The courtroom personnel called out, "Jiang Qing, no one has told you to leave. Why are you leaving?"

Jiang Qing replied evasively, "Why can't I leave?"

The presiding judge finally ordered that Jiang Qing be taken away and the bailiff removed her. As she left she mumbled, "Look at that odd sack Wu Faxian, and look at me...."

After leaving the courtroom Jiang Qing boasted, "Well, how was it I'm cooperating very well aren't I? I didn't even read my declaration."

After returning to her cell Jiang Qing felt intoxicated by her own performance. In the evening she asked her guards, "Did you see me on television today? Wasn't I spirited? How was my makeup? I want to appear spirited."

Jiang Qing complained that Chen Boda had been included in her case as said, "Chen Boda never was a part of our group."

Jiang Qing's Blood Pressure Tops Two Hundred

"Act two" opened six days later.

This was the first time for Jiang Qing to be questioned by the court. Would she continue to "cooperate"?

The day's main questioning centered on the trip of Wang Hongwen to Changsha to lodge complaints with Mao Zedong.

Jiang Qing at first simply leaned her head to the side, laughed coldly and said, "That's not so." "I don't know." She followed this by saying, "That's a lie."

In order to demonstrate Jiang Qing's guilt the presiding judge summoned witnesses to the court.

Wang Hongwen was the first person to give testimony in court. While listening to Wang Hongwen's testimony Jiang Qing continuously inclined her head to one side with a cold smile on her face. Suddenly she called out loudly, "I must visit the toilet." Jiang Qing had earlier told the court that she suffered from "frequent micturition" and during the trial she quite frequently had to go to the toilet. During her performance in "act one" however she did not suffer from that problem at all. But this was "act two" and from the opening curtain her "problem" then began to bother her.

Jiang Qing went to the toilet accompanied by two policewomen and returned to the courtroom a full ten minutes later. By this time Wang Hongwen had already departed.

As soon as Jiang Qing noticed that Wang Hongwen had left she called out, "Don't I get to confront him"?

Wang Hongwen did not reappear in court but rather two other witnesses were called, Wang Hairong [3769 3189 1369] and Tang Wensheng [0781 5113 3932].

When these two female "foreign relations experts" gave their testimony Jiang Qing frequently looked at them out of the corners of her eyes. She listened and listened and finally raised her hand high, asking permission to speak.

The judge bluntly said, "When you were questioned you did not answer and the court does not permit you to speak at this time. Your time to speak will come later."

Jiang Qing continued to hold her hand up high, unwilling to let the matter go.

After the curtain came down on "act two" Jiang Qing's blood pressure rose to over two hundred but it is not known whether that was from tension or from excitement.

"I Am Too Ignorant"

"Act three" opened on December 3rd, one week after "act two." This part focused on an investigation of the underlying facts concerning the slanderous attacks against Liu Shaoqi, Wang Guangmei [3769 0342 5019] and others.

This time Jiang Qing changed her "acting technique" and refrained from saying, "That's not so!" and "I don't know." As soon as the courtroom questioning began Jiang Qing cut off the chief procurator's questions by referring to the events of the last court session.

"I was too ignorant," Jiang Qing said, "but I was obeying the rulings of the court." Following this she again spoke in reference to the last court session saying that there were some unfinished remarks, "I didn't say what I ought to have said."

The procurator was worried that she would speak endlessly and broke off this act of her performance by saying, "We have already concluded our investigation into the criminal acts dealt with in the last session. If there is any evidence or any testimony as yet unrepresented it will have to wait till the stage of courtroom debate to be presented."

Though she full well knew the answer Jiang Qing then asked, "Am I allowed to defend myself"?

"After the courtroom investigation has been completed you can make a statement and engage in discussions. Right now you are to answer the questions of the court."

Jiang Qing's "little disturbance" eventually came to an end and the trial was redirected into its predetermined sequence of events.

After listening to the accusations of her criminal slander and attack against Liu Shaoqi, Jiang Qing was again unable to restrain herself and began to shout:

"The historical background of those times must be considered. The Great Cultural Revolution was initiated and led by Chairman Mao Zedong, the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Team was appointed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the "Sixteen Points" were formulated and promulgated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The team for investigating criminal cases was organized with Zhou Enlai as Team Leader and with me as his assistant in charge of investigating Liu Shaoqi. At that time Liu Shaoqi had great quantities of damaging materials. I did no more than operate according to the directives of the Party Central Committee as there is no way that I alone could have assumed such a great responsibility. Everything that I did was entirely legal." She also made a subtle counterattack by saying, "You talk about smashing the gang of four but in reality simply locked me up for four years and never asked even one question."

The more Jiang Qing spoke the further she got away from the topic at hand and the procurator had to warn her several times, "You are rambling too much!" But Jiang Qing paid no attention to this and several times interrupted the prosecutor.

If one says that in acts one and two Jiang Qing played the role of a "young scholar" then starting in act three she began to play the role of a "warrior."

Fighting over Testimony

Two days later "act four" began and Jiang Qing continued in the role of "warrior."

The subject of this section was primarily her attack against Liu Shaoqi.

The prosecutor accused her of conspiring with Kang Sheng and Chen Boda in the struggle against Liu Shaoqi.

As soon as Jiang Qing heard the word "conspire" she immediately became angry and screamed out:

"What conspiracy? Kang Sheng and Chen Boda were my superiors so you cannot say that I conspired...."

Jiang Qing had always dreamed of being empress but was extremely displeased at being accused of being the head of an anti-revolutionary clique. After leaving court she complained to her guards saying, "Does the death of Lin Biao make me into a leader"? So when she heard the words saying, "Jiang Qing conspired...." she simply exploded.

After this the court again took up the topics of the attack on Liu Shaoqi and the responsibility for this fight. At this time Jiang Qing again became very angry and shouted out:

"What's so strange about people fighting! Aren't you fighting with me right now? Aren't you arguing with me?"

The procurator warned her against shouting and ordered her to answer the question.

Jiang Qing laughed coldly and began a long digression on the events of the "Cultural Revolution," making no direct reply to the question.

The procurator restrained her several times but she ignored him and finally stared at him and shouted:

"Why do you prevent me from speaking? Isn't it my head that you are after!"

Jiang Qing's performance as a "warrior" not only was evil and wild but moreover was extremely clever and capable of penetrating the court's defenses.

One time a bailiff brought testimony to her to read and indicated the part she was to read.

When Jiang Qing saw that there was much more testimony than the part marked off she grabbed all of it and read it from beginning to end.

When the court then read the testimony Jiang Qing watched with a smile on her face and a plan in her head. The court read only the part marked off and then stopped.

Jiang Qing immediately shouted out, "Continue reading!"

She did this because she knew if he continued to read he would then mention the names of many inconsequential persons.

Frequent Visits to the "Toilet"

Jiang Qing's attack on Liu Shaoqi and his wife touched upon their involvement in the deaths of Yang Yizhen [2799 0001 6591], Yang Chengzuo [2799 2110 4373] and Wang Guangren [3869 1684 1869]. When the court questioned Jiang Qing regarding this crime she said:

"First there was the spirit of the Central Committee, next there was the "May 16th" communique and finally there was the mass accusations so their arrest was not without foundation."

After assuming the role of "warrior" Jiang Qing still frequently requested to "visit the toilet." However, these requests frequently coincided with periods in which she was being questioned, resulting in amusement among the viewers in the galleries. Once when Jiang Qing visited the toilet she was taken by two policewomen. After entering the toilet Jiang Qing locked the door and remained inside for over a quarter of an hour. The two policewomen broke into a nervous sweat in the fear that she might be up to something and cause trouble, but they were also unwilling to break the door down. Finally the court persuaded her to come out after making repeated requests and she slowly emerged.

Jiang Qing Plays the Role of "Hero"

On December 9th Jiang Qing made her fifth appearance on stage. For this act she changed her character, forsaking the role of "warrior" for that of "hero."

This court session primarily investigated Jiang Qing's crimes against the cadres and the masses. Because she had brought harm to so many people this session of court had a great many persons giving testimony. Many of these were intimately aware of the more ludicrous aspects of Jiang Qing's background, such as the director Huang Chen [7806 2525].

Jiang Qing's role as "hero" was even more "martial" than her "warrior" role. She frequently interrupted the testimony of the witnesses.

Just when one witness referred to Jiang Qing's concealment of her own anti-revolutionary background and her incitement of arguments and fights, from her distant seat in the defendants's box Jiang Qing immediately asked on a loud voice:

"What reactionary background do I have"?

During Huang Chen's testimony Jiang Qing was up to her petty tricks. In the 1930s Jiang Qing had been good friends with Huang Chen and her husband Zheng Junli [6774 0689 6849]. At that time Jiang Qing had entrusted Zheng Junli with a love letter for Yu Qiwei [0358 0796 1218] (Jiang Qing's first husband). During the Cultural Revolution Jiang Qing wanted to recover the letter and ordered people in the guise of Red Guards to ransack Zheng Junli's house for the letter, finally hounding him to his death.

When Huang Chen told this tale with copiously flowing tears Jiang Qing slowly said:

"I know nothing at all of this."

Huang Chen said angrily, "You have no right to speak to me!"

Jiang Qing raised a great ruckus and said, "Why don't I have the right!"

Bringing Chaos to the Judge's "Strategic Plan"

During this big trial the court predetermined a sequence of events for each court session and each of the spectators was given a copy of the order of events.

When the other major defendants were examined the court was basically able to follow the prearranged sequence of events. However, when Jiang Qing was examined she continually upset the judge's "strategic plan," on as expressed in the Beijing dialect, "made a mess of things."

Inreplying to the questions of the procurators Jiang Qing always gave inconsequential answers, going on at great length and changing the topic.

When listening to the accusations of the prosecutor she always interrupted making comments about this or that.

When witnesses were giving testimony she muttered imprecations and even cursed them so that they were unable to continue.

It is no secret that Jiang Qing was a thorny problem for the Chinese Communist legal personnel who were so lacking in experience. There were many times when the procurator knew not what to do. The predetermined sequence of events could not be followed and they could only flounder about in the wake of Jiang Qing's path. (To be continued.)

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PARTY AND STATE

REMOVAL OF INFLUENCE OF LIN BIAO, JIANG QING EMPHASIZED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jan 81 p 1

[JIEFANG RIBAO commentator's article: "The People's Verdict, the People's Victory"]

[Text] Since the founding of new China, no one has committed greater crimes, done more harm, aroused greater popular indignation and spent more time doing evil than the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. The trial of their case by the special tribunal of the Supreme People's Court ended yesterday with an official announcement of its verdict on the 10 principal criminals according to the law. Particularly serious was the case of counterrevolutionary culprit Jiang Qing, who committed heinous crimes and caused unusually serious damage to the country and the people. In order to consolidate the political power under the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend the dignity of the socialist legal system, the special tribunal sentenced Jiang Qing to death, with the sentence to be executed 2 years from now, according to the law. The special tribunal sentenced counterrevolutionary culprit Zhang Chunqiao to death, with the sentence to be executed 2 years from now, on the charges of committing heinous crimes and causing heavy and deep damage to the country and the people. The special tribunal also handed down sentences to eight other principal criminals on the basis of the severity of their crimes, ranging from life imprisonment to less severe prison terms. As soon as this news reached here, the people in Shanghai responded by jubilantly clapping their hands and expressing wholehearted support for it. It was unanimously hailed by them as a just verdict by 1 billion people and a great victory for the people's power.

During the past 2 months or more, the people in Shanghai, like the people in other parts of China, have paid special attention to the trial of this particularly important counterrevolutionary criminal case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques on the charges of usurping the party and state power. With their records replete with crimes, this bunch of criminals was bitterly hated by the people. Since the day of their downfall, the people had been earnestly looking forward to the day when they would be brought before the bar of justice. During the trial, the due process of law was strictly observed and numerous pieces of irrefutable evidence were fully cited to expose the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company, in response to the desires of the people throughout the country. As a result justice has prevailed, and the broad masses of people have become more active than ever in further enhancing political stability and unity. When the people saw the defendants being escorted into the dock one after another and heard their counterrevolutionary crimes being solemnly cited by the court during

the televised trial, crimes which made their hair stand on end, it reminded them of the catastrophe that lasted 10 years. What a horrible era it was! At that time, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company pushed people around everywhere in China, did whatever they wished; people were falsely charged and sentenced, the "civil war" spread from cities to the countryside, the economy was on the verge of bankruptcy, and there was threat of a split between the party and the state. They even deliberately wanted to remove the pillars of the state and destroy the cream of the nation, frame false charges against the innocent, and even conspired to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong and engineer a counterrevolutionary armed uprising. What they committed was nothing less than the crimes of organizing, leading and taking an active role in the counterrevolutionary clique, conspiring to subvert the government, instigating an armed uprising, murder for counterrevolutionary purposes, hurting the people, fomenting counterrevolutionary propaganda activities, and framing false charges against the innocent. The trial was a wholesale settlement of accounts with their crimes, thus putting an end to the lengthy struggle against them repeatedly waged by the people throughout the country. This was also a demonstration of the people's determination to prevent the repetition of similar counterrevolutionary cases in China in the future. The wheel of history will keep rolling forward; the people's will is irresistible. The trial further indicates that counterrevolution is unpopular with the people, and therefore can in no way prevent the wheel of history from rumbling forward; the people's power is invincible.

The trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique case has pushed the development of our country's socialist democracy and legal system to a new stage. The entire process of the trial was open to the public. Over 60,000 representatives of the people from all walks of life throughout the country personally watched the trial as observers; millions upon millions of people received a vivid education in the legal system by listening to the radio, watching television and reading detailed newspaper reports. The judicial and legal procedures were strictly observed throughout the trial. The trial was first investigated and examined by public security organs, then prosecuted and indicted by the people's procuratorate, and tried and debated in the court. Using facts as evidence and the laws as a rule, the court finally drew a clear line between criminal cases and political mistakes, and reached a decision on sentencing the defendants to various prison terms on the basis of the severity of their crimes.

Although the defendants were all bitterly hated by the people, throughout the trial their right to defend themselves was fully protected along with other rights entitled to them by law. In short, the principle of judicial independence, the democratic principle, the principle of seeking truth from facts, the revolutionary humanitarian principle, and the principle that all men are equal before the law were upheld during the trial. This was a practice in defending the socialist legal system and strengthening the building of the legal system which has enriched our experience in this field. It has also provided a typical example of how to handle a case according to the law. During the trial, the broad masses of the people watched the spirit of rule by law in action, and their confidence in determinedly perfecting the socialist democracy and legal system was strengthened.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques have been nailed forever to a historical pillar of disgrace. The people have now moved forward more daringly than ever with the removal of this garbage heap of history. Of course, on the road ahead, we can still see clearly that although punishment has been meted out to the

culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques through the trial, great continuing efforts still need to be made to eliminate their remnant influence; although this trial has cleared up the problem of their crimes; much still needs to be done to eliminate the pernicious influence of the left line pushed by them. Also awaiting us is the more difficult and complicated task of making up for the losses caused by them and healing the wounds inflicted by them. Resting on our shoulders is a heavy responsibility. The road ahead of us is long and full of difficulties. We must turn our jubilant mood of celebrating victory and hatred for Lin Biao and the "gang of four" into tremendous strength, further strengthen unity, stimulate our spirits, and work hard with one heart and one mind to thoroughly implement the consistent policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Only in this way can we make new contributions to the persistent efforts to further readjust the economy and bring about greater political stability.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LIN HUIJIA'S TRANSFER FROM BEIJING ANTICIPATED SOON

Hong Kong ZHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 40, 1 Feb 81 pp 16-17

[Article by Cheng Li [2052 3810]: "Will Lin Huijia Be Transferred To Head a Ministry?"]

[Text] In its November 1980 issue, the monthly ZHENG MING carried an article entitled "An Account of a Trip Northward," which began with a report that "Lin Huijia may step down." In its December issue, it carried another article entitled "Thorough Reshuffle of the State Council Is Under Consideration," reporting that "Duan Junyi, first secretary of the Henan Provincial Party Committee, is likely to be transferred to Beijing to be No 1 man there (a report that came a month earlier than a similar report by a certain Hong Kong newspaper). I am greatly interested in these news reports, because I am an intellectual dubbed "a braindrain" from Beijing. Everyone wants to keep himself informed about his hometown once he is away from there. I visited Beijing recently. While there, I learned from an old friend of mine that Lin Huijia is certain to step down, to be replaced by Duan Junyi.

He also told me that Lin Huijia will be appointed to head the Ministry of Petroleum.

I responded to this news report with a conservative attitude. Lin Huijia's political performance in Beijing has not been very good. This is particularly true with regard to his inability to readjust the economy effectively and to suspend those capital construction projects that need to be suspended. This being the case, why should he be entrusted with another important public office?

My friend said that the position of the No 1 man in Beijing Municipality is not lower than that of the ministers; former Mayor Wu De was a member of the Political Bureau; prior to the Cultural Revolution, Mayor Peng Zhen's position was superior to that of any minister.

My friend added: Lin Huijia is probably an able man. But the position in Beijing does not suit him well. What is wrong with the decision to let him try some other job?

I said nothing. But I still permitted myself to toy with this thought: Let us wait and see.

During the early stages of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Lin Hujia was merely a director of the Propaganda Department of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee. During a lengthy period after that, he continued to work in Zhejiang until he became deputy secretary and then secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Secretariat.

In the mid-1960's, Lin Hujia was transferred upward to the central level where he worked under the State Planning Commission, and was placed along with Yu Qiuli in charge of a "planning subcommittee" specializing in the balanced development of industrial projects. Lin Hujia was mentioned by name in "A Letter on the Question of Farm Mechanization" written by Mao Zedong in March 1966. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Lin Hujia was sent to the "cow ranches" along with other Chinese Communist cadres.

In October 1974, Lin Hujia appeared again at a National Day reception. From then on, he was vice chairman of the State Planning Commission. As soon as the gang of four was overthrown, there was a shakeup of the leadership in Shanghai, which was their old nest until Ma Tianshui [7456 1131 3055], Xu Jingxian [1776 2529 6343], Wang Xiuzhen [3769 4423 3791], Chen Ada [7115 7093 1129], and others were quarantined for investigation. Lin Hujia, Yan Youmin [0917 0147 3046], and Wang Yiping [3769 0001 1627] were named secretaries and vice chairmen of the Shanghai Municipal Party and Revolutionary Committees, to help Su Zhenhua [5685 2182 5478] and Peng Chong [1756 0394] rehabilitate China's largest city and eliminate the remnants of the gang of four there. In 1977, Lin Hujia was elected a member of the Party Central Committee during the "11th Party Congress."

By the end of March 1978, shortly after the signing of a long-term Sino-Japanese trade agreement, Lin Hujia led an economic delegation on a mission to survey the economy in Japan. The delegation consisted of Duan Yun and Fang Weizhong, vice chairmen of the State Planning Commission; Gao Xiu, vice minister of the Ministry of Commerce; and Bu Ming, president of the Bank of China. It was described by Japanese economic circles as a "superdelegation" because of its size. The fact that Lin Hujia was named head of that delegation was an indication of how important his position was at that time.

On 7 June 1978, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee issued an instruction on "grasping the key link in running Tianjin well," in an effort to reorganize the leading core of the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee. Soon, Lin Hujia was sent to Tianjin to replace Jie Xuegong [6043 1331 1872], a follower of the gang of four, as first secretary and chairman of the Tianjin municipal party and revolutionary committees.

This promotion from an ordinary municipal party committee secretary to be the No 1 man on the party committee of the nation's third largest city, under the direct jurisdiction of the central authorities, was an extraordinary jump in Lin Hujia's political career. At that time, 1 year and 8 months had passed since the Tianjin Municipality group that wanted to cover everything up had refused to raise the curtain on the criticism of the gang of four. It can be said that upon his arrival in Tianjin, Lin Hujia was already in a very good position relative to the local people. It was on the basis of that position that he was able to wield a big ax to eliminate from Tianjin Municipality the factional forces and influence of Jie Xuegong. On 29 July and 5 October 1978, RENMIN RIBAO carried two detailed

reports calling the changes that had taken place in Tianjin the "second liberation of that city." Lin Hujia then spent the next few months there fulfilling the following tasks that drew praise from the local people: (1) He helped solve shortages of water for production and for daily uses; (2) He helped solve the problem of sheltering victims of the big earthquakes in Tangshan Municipality; the number of homes repaired in June and July was equal to the total number of homes repaired from January through May, and the number of new homes built during this period was six times greater than the total of new homes completed during the previous 5 months; (3) He helped the city dwellers find an answer to the problem of having to line up for breakfast every morning. As soon as the news about these three accomplishments spread to Beijing, the people there were surprised. They also wrote letters to RENMIN RIBAO criticizing the then Beijing municipal government for being unable to learn from the Tianjin municipal government in this respect.

In October 1978, before he was able to warm the chair as the No 1 man in Tianjin, Lin Hujia received an order transferring him to the capital in Beijing, where he replaced Wu De as first secretary and chairman of the Beijing municipal party and revolutionary committees. This transfer was another leap forward in Lin Hujia's political life. All of a sudden, the name of Lin Hujia aroused worldwide attention. But this quick promotion also sowed the seeds of trouble for him.

When Lin Hujia replaced Wu De, the situation was the same as when he replaced Jie Xuegong. At the time, citizens in Beijing were expressing great dissatisfaction with Wu De because of his suppression of their desire to rehabilitate the cases of people who had been falsely charged and unjustly sentenced, especially with regard to the "Tiananmen incident." For this reason, when Lin Hujia assumed his office in Beijing, the people in Beijing Municipality quickly spread this news while posting big-character streamers welcoming Lin Hujia's arrival. At that time, the consensus resulting from foreign correspondents' interviews with some people in Beijing was that, following Lin Hujia's arrival, he would give impetus to the work of Beijing.

In less than 2 years, from his arrival in Shanghai in January 1977 to his arrival in Beijing in October 1978, Lin Hujia had become the leader of three major cities under the direct jurisdiction of the central government. Rarely before in Chinese political circles had a man ever been promoted so fast and been so heavily relied upon. Following his arrival in Beijing, Lin Hujia did nothing to let the public down. He spent only a little over 1 month rehabilitating the world-renowned "Tiananmen incident," restoring to it the true expression of a "revolutionary initiative" rather than a "counterrevolutionary incident."

Yet shortly after that, Lin Hujia began to face trouble.

Following his arrival in Beijing, Lin Hujia decided to increase the monthly bus fare, which had remained unchanged for 20 years, from 3.50 to 6 yuan on the basis of an increase in the general income of the workers and after taking into consideration the impact that the rising price of fuel might have on mass transit. But he did not expect this measure to meet with strong opposition from workers throughout the city. As Lin Hujia began to lose his popularity with the people,

gossip accusing him of "raising the bus fare without consideration" also began to spread in the streets. By the end of March 1979, on the eve of the Qingming Festival, the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee issued a "circular" banning the display of big-character postures, thus suppressing the development of the democratic movement. As a result, Lin Hujia's popularity with the masses dipped to a further new low.

The capital of Beijing is an important place where various central organs gather. This is why work in all fields in Beijing cannot move forward as smoothly as it does in Tianjin, and Lin Hujia has begun to face problems in urban development. By the end of November, the decision by the State Council to suspend the construction of the Dongfang Chemical Industry Plant when it was half completed could be called a heavy blow to the policy of the Lin Hujia administration. In addition to this news, RENMIN RIBAO carried a Commentator's article saying: "On 11 July, this newspaper published a Commentator's article entitled 'Let Everyone Show Concern for the Construction of the Capital,' explicitly pointing out: 'It is necessary to implement the Central Secretariat's four proposals. Beijing municipal leaders must make radical changes in their guiding thoughts and their priorities in work related to the development of the capital. We cannot let proposals for changes remain in the discussion and conference stage or on paper only. We must translate them into action. Now it seems that there is a long way to go to realize such changes, and great efforts have yet to be made in this direction. In the past, there was no clear-cut policy on construction in the capital. As a result, industry, especially heavy industry, is either overextended or in disarray, thus bringing about a seriously disproportionate development of various undertakings and hampering the development of the people's material and cultural life. Now, since the central authorities have clearly pointed out the direction for construction in the capital, is there still any excuse that justifies delaying our decision on readjustment in this field? In our deliberation of problems and in doing things, we must bear in mind the situation as a whole and take into account the people's immediate interests. Any deviation from the policy of the central authorities, any disregard of the demands voiced by the masses, any ignorance of the special features of the construction characteristics of the capital, and any aimless approach to the problem of construction makes readjustment more difficult and runs counter to the expectations of the Party Central Committee and the masses of people.'" This statement is a repudiation of Lin Hujia's economic work and a severe criticism of his inability to carry out the Central Secretariat's four proposals. The reports about his [impending] transfer spread immediately after the news was revealed about the suspension of work on the Dongfang Chemical Industry Plant in Beijing.

Why can't his brilliant political achievements in Tianjin be effectively extended to Beijing? It seems that there are objective reasons, as well as the subjective factors that exist in the person of Lin Hujia. The objective reasons are that Beijing is a city larger in area, more important, and more complicated than Tianjin; all central organs, including ministries and commissions, are beyond the control of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee; the problem of capital construction is a lingering headache to the municipal construction department;

and the Beijing Municipal Party Committee has no control over the construction projects being vigorously carried out by various ministries and commissions, despite the repeated affirmation of retrenchment by the Central Committee. What are the subjective factors? Lin Hujia is actually a victim of leftist ideas that prevailed over the past 20 years. Like Yu Qiuli, Kang Shien, and other members of the petroleum group, Lin Hujia's theory of economic construction is that "livelihood comes after production is carried out," and his theory of urban development calls for transformation of "consumer cities into production ones." Under the guidance of such thoughts, how can Beijing Municipality be expected to do a good job? How can the feeling that there are inconsistencies between Beijing Municipality and the four proposals of the Central Secretariat be avoided?

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there is also the will to prepare to carry out practice alongside. In sum, it is still something in the conceptual form. Without relying on objective material forces, no thinking can realize anything. Only by relying on definite objective forces while carrying out practice can people turn subjective end into objective reality. These external forces which are mobilized by people and by which a subjective end is turned into an objective reality are no other than means. Hegel said: "An end is united with objectivity by way of a means, and it is also united in objectivity with itself. A means is the zenith of inference" ("Logic," Vol II, The Commercial Press, 1976, p 433). This is to say, a means is the medium between a subjective end and an objective reality. Through the application of a means, the simple subjectivity of an end is discarded to give it objective reality; it thereby becomes an objective result and also has the original end contained in the realized objective reality. It was with an obscure language that Hegel absorbed this kind of relationship into the realm of his logic and treated a means as the "zenith" of such logical inference. But Lenin pointed out: "Here is a very profound content of pure materialism" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 203). The remaining question is merely to apply dialectical materialism and give it a scientific interpretation and transformation.

(5) Therefore, the relationship between an end and a means is relative. This relativity can be interpreted in two aspects. On the one hand, after people establish an end, they also need some means to realize it because it is still something in the conceptual form. But a means is an external force and often may not be already in existence. In order to create or obtain such a means, a new means must also intervene between its objectivity and people's subjective need. This process continues in such a way ad infinitum. Here, a means continuously turns into an end. Hegel called this situation "the indefinite progression of the medium" ("Logic," Vol II, p 441). On the other hand, when a certain end in the conceptual form becomes realized with the aid of a means, it turns into a thing of objective reality. At this time, the activity of man's practice must continue to push forward; hence this realized end is no longer an end, but now becomes the means for people to realize a further end again. Here, an end continues to turn into a means. Therefore, just as we look at the continued mutual transformation between cause and effect from general mutual relationships and mutual causations, an end and a means also continue to transform into each other when we look at the indefinite process of development of people's practice.

II. Democracy Is Both a Means and an End

(6) Let us now look at the question of democracy. We often say that democracy is a means. In a certain sense, this expression is not wrong, but we must make clear what the limitation of this "certain sense" is. As an upper structure, democracy belongs to the realm of politics; in the final analysis, it serves the economic base. In the sense of serving and being served, it may be said that economic interests are the end, whereas democracy is a means. But this is only one aspect of the truth, and not its entirety. It does not exclude the possibility that, in another sense, democracy is also an end.

(7) It is neither accidental, nor at random that democracy has been posited as an end to be struggled for by men. It has been based on the laws of historical development. Whether it is democracy in the ancient primitive sense of democracy in the modern sense, whether it is bourgeois democracy or proletarian democracy, and

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE AFFIRMS DEMOCRACY IS BOTH MEANS AND END

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 12, 25 Dec 80 p 6-14

[Article by Lu Zhichao [4151 0037 6389]: "Democracy Is Both a Means and an End"]

[Text] (1) For many years, there has been a prevailing view which holds that democracy is but a means, and we cannot take democracy as an end. Some comrades also consider the view which regards democracy as an end as a bourgeois view. Whether or not this view is correct merits our discussion. This article intends to broach some rudimentary views in order to appraise them together with comrades concerned with this question.

I. End of Means

(2) The question concerning the relationship between end and means is a rather broad philosophical one. Limited by the task of this article, we cannot discuss this in any great detail. In order to study the question of democracy, we list here only its certain basic points so that we will have some criteria to follow when we discuss the question of whether democracy is a means or an end.

(3) This concept "end" is in essence an element of the activity of man's practice. There exist in nature only general mutual relationships and cause-and-effect relationships, and there is no such particular thing called end. There is some incipient end in the activity of higher animals, but the activity of such animals is instinctive activity; they are merely a part of nature and cannot turn into subjects of practice or subjects of perception to confront nature. With animals, therefore, there is also no real end to speak of--the phenomenon of seeking premeditated results through practice by taking advantage of cause-and-effect relationships is not in question. In essence, their activity can only be said to be a blind adaptation to nature. Only a social man has a clear sense and can clearly propose his own end in his practice of changing the world. One of the prominent characteristics of man's social practice is that it is an activity with an end. Of course, the proposing of men's end and its realization are both by no means randomly, absolutely free; on the contrary, it is based upon the objective world and its law-following nature. Only activities in accord with objective laws can attain a premeditated end.

(4) An end, even if it happens to be one proposed on the basis of objective conditions and laws, is merely an expectation from the results of practice, a desire or attempt to reach a certain kind of result before efforts are made to realize it;

whether it is democracy in a society of class confrontation or democracy in the future classless society, when it is posited as an end to be struggled for under different historical conditions, it is always a demand and product of a definite historical development. And generally speaking, the process through which man pursues the end of democracy through different forms and different stages also reflects the fact that man not only demands to cast off the enslavement of nature but also demands to cast off the enslavement of man by man, and also the progressive process that man not only demands to become the master of the world of nature but also demands to become master in human society itself. Concretely speaking, we can discuss this question of democracy as an end in several different senses.

(8) One situation is, as an end whose realization is struggled for in a given period and under certain given conditions, democracy turns from a means into an end. In order to liberate capitalist economic relationships from the constraint of feudalism, the bourgeoisie needs to establish a bourgeois democratic republic. In the process of the bourgeois democratic revolution, the struggle for democracy thus also becomes its end. During a period of several hundred years in the world arena, the bourgeoisie has adopted all adoptable political, economic, military and ideological and cultural means to struggle for the realization of this end. In order to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the socialist and communist system, the proletariat must first pass through the proletarian revolutionary struggle and establish its own class rule. This process of struggle is also the process of struggle for proletarian democracy. The "Communist Manifesto" says: "The first step of the workers' revolution is to elevate the proletariat to become the ruling class and win democracy" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 272). Winning the ruling position and winning democracy for the proletariat are the same thing, for they are both ends which the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat seek to realize.

(9) In the struggles of the bourgeoisie to oppose feudal autocracy and win democracy, the proletariat has always been an active participant. Because the proletariat knew that, compared to feudal autocracy, the bourgeois democratic system was more beneficial to the proletariat--beneficial to the elevation of its class consciousness and development of its political struggle, beneficial to the training and organization of its class ranks and beneficial to its struggle against the bourgeoisie itself. On this point of opposing feudal autocracy alone, it may be said that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie have common demands and common ends. But generally speaking, the ends pursued by the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are fundamentally different. In the process of struggle, the proletariat gradually recognized that the democracy of the bourgeoisie was but the democracy of a minority of exploiters, and it was a dictatorship insofar as the proletariat and the vast ranks of the people were concerned. Because the bourgeoisie appeared in the process of the struggle for democracy in the name of all the people, it falsely interpreted the bourgeois democracy it wished to struggle for as the democracy of all the people. In this regard, it constituted a deception of the proletariat and the toiling people. On the otherhand, it also gave the proletariat a pretext to enable the proletariat to utilize democracy as a means to turn around and struggle against the bourgeoisie itself. Therefore, generally speaking, bourgeois democracy is a means that can be utilized by the proletariat, and not its end. When Marx and Engels discussed democracy as a means on many occasions, they discussed it in this sense. For example, Engels said: "For the sake of seizing power, the proletariat also needs the democratic form; but to the proletariat, this form, like all political forms, is but a means" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 443).

What is discussed here is the proletarian struggle to seize power; in this process, what the proletariat uses as a means is obviously the bourgeois democratic form. Engels also said: "If the proletariat cannot immediately utilize democracy to directly carry out the encroachment on private ownership and the various measures to guarantee the existence of the proletariat, then this kind of democracy is entirely useless to the proletariat" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 220). This means that, after the victory of the proletarian revolution, the bourgeois democracy which cannot offend private ownership is no longer useful to the proletariat. Some people's articles have repeatedly quoted these words to prove that Engels generally treated democracy as a means; this is not in accord with his original idea.

(10) Furthermore, democracy as an indicator of the liberation of a class or as an indicator of the liberation of the toiling people and as the right for them to enforce their rule and be masters of their own house is itself an end. The struggle for liberation on the part of the proletariat and the toiling people contains a meaning in two aspects, that is, economic liberation and political liberation. Not only do they demand to cast off the exploitation of capitalism economically but also to cast off oppression by the bourgeoisie politically in order to become masters in the state and in society, and masters of their own destiny. The socialist system the proletariat struggles for and seeks to establish is not only an economic system but also a political system. On the one hand, it must establish and perfect socialist public ownership of various forms in order to enable all the people to enjoy together the right to own and dispose of means of production. On the other hand, it must establish and perfect the socialist democratic system to enable all the people to enjoy the right to manage the state and the masses of various economic and cultural units to enjoy together the right to manage affairs of their own units. At the same time, the people must also enjoy various rights of freedom and equality provided by modern civilization. Without the latter, that is, without the highly democratic system of socialist politics, the socialist system would be incomplete and would be subject to distortion; it would not be able to maintain its socialist essence. This is another situation or sense in which democracy serves as an end.

(11) There is still another situation. That is, in the relationship between the economic base and the upper structure, to say that democracy as a political upper structure serves economics and therefore is a means and not an end is still not the entirety of the question. That is also to say that is still not the entirety of that relationship. We know that in any complicated things and especially in complicated social phenomena, the mutual relationships and mutual causations between various factors are also very complicated. The relationship between social phenomena such as politics, economics and culture is also like this. For instance, without a healthy socialist democracy, it would be impossible to develop the socialist economy smoothly. In this sense, the development of the economy is the end, and democracy is the means that serves it. But, without a socialist economy and a corresponding development of science and culture, it is also impossible to establish a high degree of socialist democracy. In this sense, the economy, culture, etc, in turn become the means to develop democracy.

Lenin said: "No individually functioning democracy will yield socialism, but in real life democracy never functions individually but only exists in a state of 'interdependence'; it is bound to affect the economy, promote the reform of the

economy, be affected by economic development, etc. This is living historical dialectics" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 238). Unlike some people's allegation, this passage does not just prove that democracy is a means. What is mentioned as interdependence and mutual influence here may also be said to be a case of serving as the end and the means to each other. Of course, the mutual influence and mutual causation between the economy, politics, culture and similar social phenomena are not all the same. In the final analysis, the economy is the foundation and of a primary nature; politics and culture, etc, are determined [by the economy] and of a secondary nature. But the relationship between the primary and the secondary is not necessarily the relationship between the end and the means. A person must first have something to eat and something to wear before he can think and develop cultural activities and a spiritual life. But can we say that when a person proceeds to think, engage in cultural activities, and lead a spiritual life, what he is doing in each case is not at all an end but only a means to obtaining something to eat and something to wear?

III. A High Degree of Democracy Is One of the Ends We Struggle For

(12) Therefore, in our struggle to build our great socialist motherland, our goal is not limited to economic modernizations but includes at the same time also a high degree of democracy in politics and a high degree of civilization in culture and morality. In his speech in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of our state, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "By the four modernizations, we mean the four major aspects of modernization and not that modernizing is confined to these four aspects. Along with the reform and improvement of the socialist economic system, we will reform and improve the socialist political system and develop an advanced socialist democracy and a complete socialist legal system. While building an advanced material civilization, we want to raise the educational, scientific, cultural and health levels of the whole nation, foster lofty revolutionary ideals and morals, develop a rich and many-sided cultural life, and thus build an advanced socialist civilization." This shows that our party and state clearly list advanced democracy and advanced civilization along with modern economy as goals for the party and the people of the whole country to struggle for at the present stage.

(13) Listing the building of an advanced socialist democracy and the building of a modern economy as the goals we struggle for is where the essential difference between socialism and capitalism lies. To realize modernization in the economy alone is not necessarily a characteristic of the socialist system; the socialist society does not just require highly developed productive forces and science and technology. If what it requires were limited to all this, then it would be something that the capitalist system could also fully achieve. In reality, many capitalist countries have already achieved this; the level of modernization of the United States, Japan, countries of Western Europe and similar capitalist countries is all higher than ours. If that is all we needed, then people would ask: what do we still need the socialist system for? The socialist system should also make sure that the results achieved by modern productive forces and science and technology really belong to all the people and that all the people really become masters of the state and society. Therefore, in our attempt to carry out modernization as a social process, its goal, path, steps and methods must have the characteristics of socialism and, first and foremost, partake of the characteristics of socialist democracy. This is to say, we cannot realize modernization apart from the demands and interests of the vast ranks of the people and the desires and struggles of the vast ranks of the

people. Otherwise, if socialist democracy were regarded merely as a means for realizing modernization and not as an end itself, the logical conclusion would be: we may use this means to realize modernization, but we may also use some other means to realize it. Then the distinction between capitalism and socialism would become confused. Because a modernization which requires the loss of the people's democratic rights as its price can only be modernization under the capitalist system. Undoubtedly, this is absolutely not going to be permitted by the Chinese people.

(14) The proposal to build a highly democratic socialism as the goal of our struggle is not made by accident or at random but is based on its profound objective inevitability. In our country, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production was basically completed and the socialist system was preliminarily established, what we needed in economics was to find the concrete forms embodying the principles of socialism and suited to the characteristics and conditions of the productive forces of our country in order to promote the development of those productive forces and satisfy the people's material and cultural needs; what we needed in politics should have been to do our best to create and perfect the concrete form of our system of socialist democracy so as to make sure that all the people would really become masters in their own house, masters of the state, and to protect the people's various democratic freedoms and rights. Only thus would we be able to make the socialist system develop forward. The reason we feel particularly strongly on this point is precisely because this end was posited too late. This end should originally have been posited upon the basic completion of the socialist transformation in 1956, and steps should also have been taken thus to realize it right away. But, regrettably, our understanding in this regard was insufficient, as we single-mindedly took democracy merely as a means and failed to do our best to establish and perfect the system of socialist democracy as we should have; this resulted in great damage to our socialist cause, so that during the period of the "10-year domestic turmoil" the remnant poison of feudalism spread to disastrous proportions, socialist democracy was subject to willful sabotage, and the people's democratic rights were nearly all wiped out. Only after such a serious lesson did we come especially painfully to recognize the importance of positing democracy as our end. In the meantime, because of the conditions created by our democratic revolution and socialist revolution, because of the preliminary development of our socialist economy and culture and the mutual influence in economy and culture between our country and the people of various countries of the world, and particularly because of the enlightenment the people of our country have achieved from 30 years of experience and lessons, we should say that taking the building of an advanced democracy as the goal of our struggle was not only the urgent demand of our 1 billion people, but objective conditions for our doing so were also present. That is to say, it had already become a historical inevitability.

(15) In the case of democracy as an end, much like any other end, if we wish to turn it into objective reality we need to follow the laws of its development, adopt definite means, and gradually create the necessary conditions. Therefore, the process of realizing democracy is bound to be a long process of hard struggle, and it thus can hardly be accomplished overnight. This is something that many people know very well. But in the building of democracy, some people think that we are not subject to the limitation of objective conditions and laws, and it seems to them that once this end is posited, an advanced democracy can simply be realized very quickly and various undemocratic phenomena will also disappear very quickly. Hence, when they see that in our realistic life the progress of this building

process is not very fast and also encounters myriad obstacles, they begin to feel discouraged and disappointed. Such a view is incorrect. For many years, a serious mistake in our theory has been a lack of acknowledgment that the development in respect to our political upper structure is subject to the restraint of the economy, culture, and other social conditions, and that it also has its own laws of development; we often thought that we could determine or change certain upper structures in any way we wished through some political movement. This was a petty bourgeois point of view, and not a Marxist point of view. Therefore, in respect to the building of advanced democracy, just like the realization of the four modernizations, we can neither remain satisfied with the existing state of affairs nor seek accomplishments impatiently, much less become discouraged and lose heart. What is needed here is an elastic and stubborn spirit of struggle. We must study the laws of development of socialist democracy and its interrelationship with economic and cultural construction, and adopt appropriate means according to the demand of such objective laws, do our best in creating conditions, and struggle for its realization step by step.

(16) Objectively speaking, the most fundamental means and condition for the development of democracy is the improvement of the level of the economy and culture. Because, as we have said above, the development of the economy and culture and the development of democracy are end and means to each other. Subjectively speaking, the realization of advanced democracy depends on the struggle of the proletariat and the vast ranks of the people. Democracy is gained by struggle, and not granted by anybody's grace. "There have never been any saviors, nor any gods and emperors; our salvation depends entirely on ourselves." It was like this in the past; it is and will remain like this at present and in the future. Some common people entrust their hope to the appearance of a Son of Heaven with the Genuine Mandate or truly honest magistrates. This is evidence of the influence of feudalism thinking and also the parochialism of small producers. Such thinking still exists in a conspicuous or latent form even today. If the ideological influence of such historical idealism is not done away with, the advanced democracy of socialism can never be truly realized. Some leaders think that the democratic system is only subject to their study, formulation and promulgation item after item, and the masses are not supposed to interfere. This is likewise extremely erroneous. The people's democratic rights can only be won and safeguarded when the people are organized under the leadership of their own party. We must never think that feudal and antidemocratic things such as patriarchy, life tenure, rule by the voice of one man alone, thinking in terms of privilege, and bureaucracy will fade away of their own accord; like any negative factors in history, these things will never fade away of their own accord without going through the process of struggle. Of course, because of the different forms and degrees in which they appear (mainly as they are reflected to a considerable extent among the people and in our own comrades), the means and modes of struggle we adopt should also differ, and we cannot thus struggle indiscriminately irrespective of means. But we can change them only through struggle, this is definitely affirmative.

(17) In the process of such a struggle, we must rely on the party's leadership. Although because our party is the party in power, because many phenomena in violation of socialist democracy have taken shape within the party and especially by way of certain leaders, we should at the same time see that leading forces in opposition to the remnant influence of feudalism and promoting the building of socialist democracy are also within the party and they are increasingly becoming the dominant

aspect of our party's leadership. The historical progress since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has forcefully illustrated this point. If the realization of the end of socialist democracy requires all kinds of means, then a gradually improved and increasingly strengthened leadership of the party is one of the most important and decisive means. The so-called leadership of the party does not mean that the party and its leading organs are going to serve as masters in behalf of the people, much less take their place as masters; it should mean that they are going to lead the people in struggle so as to establish and perfect various systems and make sure that the people really become actual masters of the state and not just nominal masters, and that cadres at various levels really become actual public servants of the people and not just nominal public servants. The Chinese people have in the past overthrown the three big mountains under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and won liberation, won the people's fundamental rights; from now on, we must also seek to overcome all undemocratic practices in our system and society under the leadership of the party and thereby build a socialist state of advanced democracy.

(18) Democracy is not only the goal of struggle during the period of socialism. In our future struggle to realize communism, the struggle for the realization of a thorough and complete democratic system should also be included. In order to explain the question theoretically, here I would like to discuss as a matter of convenience this question of the future concerning the status of democracy in our forthcoming communist society.

(19) Democracy is a realm of history; it is related to the rule of a definite class, and will wither away along with the elimination of classes and the withering away of the state. Such a view is not incorrect; it is a Marxist view. However, there is also a delimitation here. That is to say, this concerns democracy only as a form of state, a type of state. But, in my opinion, the democratic system definitely does not just suggest a form of class rule or a form of state. In the future society where there is no class confrontation, nor the state as the instrument of class rule, the democratic system is still needed; that is, it still needs the system by which all the people make decisions on social matters and manage society, every person's right to develop freely is fully respected and the possibility of a minority of people encroaching upon the people's interests is prevented.

(20) If we look back at history, we will see that primitive democracy took shape far earlier than class confrontation and the birth of the state. During the period of primitive communes, such a democratic system took shape in not a few family communes. In those communes, major affairs were decided upon by all the family members; in those communes, the rights of every member were equal; in those communes, many effective democratic forms such as people's congress gradually took shape so that the family's major affairs could be determined. Engels called this kind of democratic system "naturally grown democratic system," "primitive, naturally developed democratic system" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 101, 165). Since this kind of democratic system took shape already in the period of primitive communes when there was no class confrontation, nor any state, why can there be no democracy at all in the future communist society? It is entirely possible to imagine that in the future communist society where class differences are eliminated, and hence the state as an instrument of class rule is also eliminated, a highly developed and complete democratic system will still exist. It is said in the "Communist Manifesto": "In the process of development, when class differences have all dis-

appeared and all production becomes concentrated in the hands of associated individuals, public authority loses its political character.... In place of that old society of the bourgeoisie where classes and class antagonisms both exist will be an association wherein the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273). Marx and Engels also explained in this passage: "Political power in the original sense is organized violence by which one class suppresses another" (ibid). In the future communist society, when public authority loses its political character, it means that it will lose this character of class oppression and class rule. But public authority will by no means disappear itself, nor can it disappear. It will be the authority to manage society most thoroughly and most completely under the control of all the people. We cannot imagine that the future society will have only customs and no systems. Since communism is a social system, it is impossible to be only a kind of economic system based on public ownership without a political system of advanced democracy corresponding to it, even though this kind of politics is no longer politics in the original sense of class rule. Under that kind of system, the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." That is to say, as the premise of all democratic systems, the rights of man and his free development are highly respected and fully realized. Man really becomes the master of his own society, and hence also the master of nature.

(21) Therefore, we can say that it appears quite incorrect if we confuse the democratic system as a form of state with the democratic system in a classless society under which the people manage their own social affairs and protect the right of the people to free development, and further derive from this the view that all democratic systems are going to disappear. As a realm of history, democracy can in a given historical stage (such as class society) be taken as a means to attain a given end. But, from the point of view of its entirety, no men or their rights or men's historical demand to be masters of their own society and destiny can be taken as a means. This can only be itself the end of men's historical activity. Marx and Engels said: "It is not in taking man as the instrument to attain its own end that history utilizes certain particular personalities. History merely pursues the activities of man as its own end" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 118-119). Of course, regarding the system which concerns man's rights and embodies most fully such rights, people need not use the term democracy but some other term. But wrangling with terms is senseless, and it appears that up to the present people still have not created any better term. Because the future communist society is not dropped from the sky; the democratic system and its concepts in the future society can only be the extension and development of the democratic system and its concepts as a realm of history. The system is likely to preserve in itself the results won by man while he struggled for his own democratic rights in the course of several thousand years, and discard only the character of its class rule.

IV. Discussion of a Few Erroneous Propositions

(22) The question of whether democracy is a means or an end became a question that could no longer be discussed after the mid-1950's or, more specifically, after the "anti-rightist faction" of 1957. On the one hand, to all those who regarded democracy as an end was attached the label "bourgeois democratic view." On the other hand, in certain propaganda, especially in the practice of some periods, the proposition that democracy is a means was often subject to random interpretations without any limitation; hence a proposition which is correct in a definite relative

sense was distorted to an unrecognizable and preposterous extent. Up to this day, this question is still not completely solved in our perception. Therefore, there is need to broach and discuss certain prevailing views and propositions which I regard as erroneous.

(23) One view holds that in the question of democracy the fundamental difference between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie lies in that the former dares to openly declare that democracy is a means and not an end, whereas the latter dares not. This view is fundamentally incorrect. The difference between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy does not lie here but in their class contents. The former is the democracy of the proletarians and the toiling people and dictatorship against a minority of exploiters; the latter is the democracy of the bourgeois and a minority of exploiters and dictatorship against the proletarians and the toiling people. Precisely because of this, the proletariat dares to openly declare the class nature of its state system, i.e., the democratic system, whereas the bourgeoisie wishes to conceal the class nature of its democratic system, and falsely interprets its democracy as some "pure democracy," "absolute democracy," democracy of all the people," etc. Here lies the fundamental difference between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy. In guiding the people to build a socialist society, the proletariat should take the people's democracy, that is, the people as a whole wielding the power of control over the state and society, as its lofty, inviolable end. If we think that only the bourgeoisie takes democracy as an end, whereas the proletariat takes democracy only as a means, then we are not only wrong theoretically but this will also cause a great deal of harm in our practice. It will provide a pretext to those bureaucratists bent on suppressing democracy, because they can thus declare at random on the ground of democracy not being an end that the people's democratic demands are representative of only the bourgeois point of view. Not only this, spreading such an erroneous view also falls precisely into the trap set by the bourgeoisie. Because the bourgeois have always spread the propaganda that only they sincerely love democracy and take democracy as the supreme and unmatched end, whereas the socialist states essentially pay little attention to democracy or even lack democracy. Can we agree with this bourgeois view?

(24) For a long time, there has been still another erroneous view which holds that proletarian dictatorship is the end, whereas democracy is a means to reinforce and consolidate the dictatorship. Hence, the form, extent, or even amount and existence of democracy must all obey and serve the dictatorship. This kind of view prevailed especially during the 10-year turmoil and it also did the greatest harm.

As has been mentioned above, when the proletariat wins rule, it also wins democracy. In the early period after the proletariat seizes power, it faces serious class struggles. On the one hand, it must carry out and develop democracy among the people; on the other hand, it must exercise dictatorship over the exploitative classes. The interrelationship between these two aspects is this: developing the people's democracy serves to consolidate and reinforce the power of the dictatorship over the enemy; reinforcing the dictatorship over the enemy serves to protect the people's democracy. The tasks of the two aspects are uniform and united together. The people's democratic dictatorship we carried out after the victory of our revolution was this very kind of unity between democracy for the people and dictatorship over the enemy. Speaking of means, first of all, whether dictatorship or democracy, each constituted a means in a certain sense--a means to develop the socialist economy. Second, speaking of the relationship between the two, they were end and means to each other. In a word, it does not make any sense to regard democracy

only as a means. If a dictatorship is not meant for, or capable of, guaranteeing the democratic rights of proletarians and the toiling people but instead requires the form, extent, or even amount and existence of democracy to obey it, then such a dictatorship can hardly be said to be a proletarian dictatorship or people's dictatorship. On the contrary, it is very likely to become a dictatorship over the people. Was this not the case with the so-called "total dictatorship" perpetrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"?

(25) It should also be pointed out that we cannot consider the tasks and functions of democracy and dictatorship and the question of interrelationship between the two faced by a socialist state in the early period after its seizure of power as something unchangeable once fixed. They do change along with the changes in the ongoing situation. Along with the elimination of the exploiters as a class, our enemies will become less and less, and the tasks and functions of our dictatorship will also decrease gradually while the people's democracy should become more and more expanded and more and more developed. Therefore, the strengthening and development of socialist democracy aims not just at reinforcing our dictatorship over the enemies but mainly at making sure that the people really become masters of the state and society and at protecting the people's various democratic freedoms and rights. The more socialism becomes developed, the more this aspect will become its main content. At the same time, we must also see that after the dictatorship is strengthened, it becomes naturally possible to protect the people's democratic rights from encroachment and sabotage by class enemies; but this is not the same as saying that after the enemies are suppressed or eliminated, democracy is necessarily automatically assured or developed. In other words, the people's democratic rights may also be subject to encroachment by certain forces arising from the internal ranks of the people themselves. For instance, they may be subject to encroachment by their bureaucratic leaders. Also, along with the gradual decrease of class enemies, contradictions in this regard will later on develop more and more into numerous and principal contradictions which require great efforts for their solution. If we regard democracy merely as a means to enforce our dictatorship, the logical conclusion would be: along with the gradual decrease of our enemies and increasing contraction of the tasks of our dictatorship, democracy will also become increasingly reduced and contracted. This would be tantamount to removing our tasks in strengthening and developing our socialist democracy. Such a view is obviously incorrect and harmful.

(26) There is also another view which holds that democracy is a means of centralism, and centralism is the end of democracy, and giving scope to democracy aims merely at strengthening centralism. This view is even more incorrect. First of all, it has failed to make clear the most fundamental content of such a concept as democracy. The original connotation of democracy is rule by the majority, the power of the people. In the class society, democracy is first of all a form of state; therefore, democracy is first of all a question of the form of state, a question of what status the people occupy in the state and society. In the future society where classes are completely eliminated, democracy also suggests all members of society wielding public power and exercising control over society. In this sense, democracy and centralism are absolutely not the same thing.

The interrelationship between democracy and centralism or democratic centralism, on the other hand, constitutes a question in another realm. First, when democracy is taken as a form of state, it is the structural form and organizational system of

such a democratic state power. For example, our people's congress system is one kind of democratic centralism. This is a question of governmental system, that is, by what form and what kind of organization should the people, as masters of the state, exercise their power in managing the state. Second, in a broader sense, it is a principle of organization, a principle of organization for any party, mass organization or other group which practices the democratic principle. Its core is the minority obeying the majority. In this sense, it may be said that it is not related to state power. Therefore, whether as governmental system of the state or as a broader principle of organization, it is impossible for centralism to take democracy merely as a means in this democratic centralism. On the contrary, centralism may be said to be a means of democracy. Centralism is but a method, a form by which decisionmaking by the majority and management by the majority are realized. Centralism divorced from democracy can only be a kind of autocracy.

(27) Perceiving democracy as a means of centralism most conspicuously illustrates the partiality of taking democracy merely as a means. Those comrades who adhere to this point of view often mainly understand democracy to be a workstyle and method; that is, allowing the masses to speak up, more broadly listening to various opinions so as to "concentrate them" and thereby formulate correct leadership. Such workstyle and method are of course very important, but they are not the essence of democracy and cannot be regarded as the system of democracy. This point of view forgets precisely the most important thing, that is, the nature of the system of our socialist state; it forgets that our state is one in which the people are the masters, and whichever party assumes the leadership, it does so because it is entrusted by the people to work for the people, and its task of foremost importance is to be accountable to the people. If all this is forgotten, if there is no healthy democratic system to embody all this, then when certain leaders think that they are wiser than the masses and they no longer need to listen to different opinions of the masses and concentrate them, they can simply cast democracy aside. We should know that merely being willing to allow people to speak up, to listen to different opinions and adopt the good ideas suggested by subordinates, etc., is purely a question of one's own individual quality or cultivation but not a political or social system. This is something that even an enlightened ruler of the feudal society could well achieve. If we choose to understand democracy this way, then enlightened rulers under the feudal system such as Emperor Gaozu of the Han Dynasty and Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty could also be taken as predecessors in the practice of democracy.

(28) On the question of treating democracy as a means, there are still not a few similar views, such as the so-called "mass democracy," "limited democracy," etc., which we shall refrain from enumerating here. To sum up, their common points are: denial of democracy as at the same time also the end of the people in carrying out revolution and building socialism, and unlimited, random interpretation of democracy as a means apart from the well-defined suggestion that the political upper structure serves the economic base. The so-called random interpretations are actually no other than utilitarian interpretations. Concerning this democracy as a means, when it may be used and when it may be discarded, when it is too much and when it is too little, when it should be in "mass" proportions and when it should be "limited" must all depend on certain subjective political needs. Thus, the people's power and rights are all forgotten, and the so-called democracy becomes purely an instrument of utilitarianism or even a political trick. The harmfulness of these erroneous views was most fully reflected in the "unprecedented" 10-year turmoil. Countless facts

of that period illustrated that under the utilitarian interpretation, the proposition that democracy is a means usually turns into its reverse in realistic life and becomes a means of hamstringing any rights enjoyed by the people.

(29) Democracy is a means and not an end: what role has this dictum played in our real life? The practice of more than 20 years is already enough for us to examine this question and pass pertinent judgment. Practice has proved the unscientific nature of this dictum and declared its bankruptcy. Although the people have taken over all under heaven, the protection of the people's rights in the control of various social affairs of the state, the protection of the people's democratic freedoms and rights, is somehow not the end for which the new state was built. In a socialist people's republic, socialist people's democracy is somehow not established as an inviolable system but becomes instead a means that may be used or abandoned, taken or left alone, used in greater or lesser quantity. Our people have already paid a heavy price for this kind of theory, which included the blood of many martyrs like Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] and Shi Yunfeng [0670 7189 1496]. After the smashing of the "gang of four," our party and people, thinking about the pain after the pain passed, deeply felt the importance of struggling for the realization of socialist democracy and began in various aspects of our political life to carry out our work of construction in strengthening our socialist democracy. But, both in theory and in practice, we still cannot say that our perception of this question has already become very consistent. Seeing that democracy is pursued as an end, some people immediately suspect that we have embarked upon an orientation toward bourgeois democracy. Therefore, this question concerning whether democracy is a means of an end is still one of the questions that require our serious study and scientific explication.

(October 1980)

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PARTY AND STATE

CONTINUATION OF REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT EMPHASIZED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Xiao Jiang [5618 3068]: "The Spirit of 'Fear Neither Hardships Nor Death' Should Be Promoted"]

[Text] The revolutionary slogan "fear neither hardships nor death" once played an enormous role in inspiring the broad masses of Communist Party members to fight bravely in wartime and triumph over the enemy. It centrally embodies the revolutionary and heroic spirit of the proletariat.

The spirit of fearing neither hardships nor sacrifices was necessary during the war years, and it is also necessary during times of peace and construction. The change from war to peace and construction is a historical transition; this transition does not mean that difficulties and obstacles do not lie before us, or that there is no need to make any necessary sacrifices and pay a certain price. No does undertaking the construction of modernization mean that we are concerned merely with technology and equipment, or that there is no need to give play to man's subjective initiative and to struggle hard. In fact, it is unavoidable that we will repeatedly encounter difficulties during the period of construction. We must make war on nature and fight against all kinds of natural calamities. We must also struggle against various counterrevolutionaries and criminal offenders who damage the construction of socialist modernization. Moreover, since we undertake construction in a country with a billion people, 800 million of whom are peasants, it is basically impossible to build a strong and modernized socialist state without a spirit undaunted by repeated setbacks and bravely self-sacrificing. At the same time, we should also realize that the present world is more turbulent; to strive for a peaceful environment to undertake construction we still need to struggle against hegemonism. This also demands that we carry forth the revolutionary outlook of life to struggle to the end for the realization of communism. This requires us not only to hold a firm belief in communism and to believe firmly in the inevitable victory of the communist cause, but also to have no fear of difficulties and sacrifice as well as to have the determination to struggle to the end for the realization of this great cause. Particularly in safeguarding the interests of the party and the people, we must step forward bravely at all times of difficulties and danger, take up the cudgels for the just cause, and persevere to the end. In ordinary times we must place hardships before enjoyment, dash toward difficulties and retreat from honors, rush to carry the heaviest load for the revolution, work selflessly for the public interest, be honest and down-to-earth, and quietly immerse ourselves in hard work.

Of course, when we say we need to continually carry forth the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardships nor death," we are in no way saying that we have to make senseless sacrifice, and we are not advocating blind and rash actions. What we demand is a combination of a scientific attitude with a spirit of devotion. In the construction of modernization, Communist Party members must take the lead in studying science and technology, vocational work; grasp objective laws precisely so as to avoid detours and unnecessary sacrifice; and pay a small price for an even greater victory. But this does not mean it is not necessary to carry forth the spirit of heroic sacrifice and hard struggle. Therefore we must oppose the blind and rash errors of not caring for the suffering and livelihood of the masses as well as of treating their lives as trifling matters. We must in no way confuse such errors with the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardships nor death." We must also not deny this spirit by onesided generalizations or by refraining from doing something necessary for fear of a slight risk.

Man inevitably needs to have spirit. In the course of carrying out construction of the four modernizations, we must continue to maintain and carry forth the past revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardships nor death" and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

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PARTY AND STATE

STRENGTHENING REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jan 81 p 1

[Article: "The Virtues of Revolutionists"]

[Text] Lin Mingguang's [2651 0682 1684] resistance against corruption is not an extraordinary deed. But it reflects this noble revolutionary spirit: consciousness. Although the power in his hands is not great, he holds a comparatively important position which makes him a "crucial figure" in the eyes of speculators. If he uses his power to seek profits for himself, "kickbacks" will naturally flow in his direction. However, he has acted in the public's interests and resolutely implemented the party's policies. It is absolutely impossible for him to give up the revolutionary principles in order to serve his private interests and to satisfy his personal passion. For this reason, those who want to put "big bets" on him have met the fate of "being snubbed." Today is there such a saying that "selfishness is human nature"? Lin Mingguang's conscious spirit is a powerful repudiation of this argument. Selfishness is actually the intrinsic nature of the bourgeoisie, while wholehearted devotion to serving the people and utter devotion to serving others without any thought of oneself are a noble virtue of the communists and revolutionaries. Such noble virtues were trampled under foot during the 10 years of turmoil. But they are still treasured by hundreds of thousands of comrades educated by the party. As long as we strengthen the ideological and political work, and constantly strive to help cadres and the masses raise their revolutionary consciousness, such noble virtues can certainly regain their old glory.

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PARTY AND STATE

REVIVAL OF SPIRIT OF 1960'S TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTY STRESSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by Zhu Wen [4555 2429]: "A Strength That Cannot Be Underestimated"]

[Text] During the early 1960's, the Chinese people experienced several years of life unprecedented in history. At that time one difficulty followed another; the national economy suffered setbacks as a result of serious natural disasters; the Soviet Union added to our burdens by going back on its word; some difficult problems also resulted from the prevalence of the influence of "left" ideas. These were difficulties felt by people in their daily work and life. But under the guidance of the party, the people faced up to difficulties with courage, exhibiting a strong will and formidable strength. It can be said that although our material life at that time was not faring well, our spiritual life was gaining strength. The revolutionary spirit of overcoming difficulties at that time is worthy of promotion today.

Unity can generate infinite strength. The spirit of overcoming difficulties during the early 1960's actually generated such strength. There should be a nucleus for achieving unity. That nucleus was the leadership of the party. At that time the broad masses of party members unified politically behind the Party Central Committee; the broad masses of people firmly trusted the leadership of the party, and the wills from top to bottom were united as one. Most important of all was that the people were capable of conscientiously and thoroughly implementing the line, principles and policies adopted by the Party Central Committee and conscientiously carrying out various measures it set forth. For example, one of the measures called on a certain number of cadres and workers and their dependents to return to the countryside from cities. In response to this call of the party, many cadres and workers returned to the countryside with their families in order to help the state overcome difficulties. In the face of difficulties, some party members stepped forward to give up their city life and join the agricultural front. At that time the party also adopted measures to readjust the economy which the people were determined to carry out by rolling back some projects as much as they could and by exerting their utmost to save money. They were also united as one to support the party's line with one heart and one mind. This was a vivid manifestation of the spirit of the early 1960's to overcome difficulties. At present, as our country is facing some difficulties, the Party Central Committee has adopted a policy of readjusting the economy, a policy which requires us to make good in the spirit of the early 1960's. As a result of interference by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," earlier, some comrades adopted a skeptical attitude toward the party's line and it took them a lot

of time to size up the problem. Today they should no longer take a skeptical, wait-and-see attitude toward it. We must realize that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our suffering motherland has survived a catastrophe and is eventually on the way to prosperity. The party's present line is the only correct line, formulated on the basis of conclusions drawn from experiences and lessons of past 30 years or more, including that of recent years. Where is our hope if we are not united as one to thoroughly implement this line? Our party's prestige has suffered as a result of interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and as a result of the emergence of unhealthy work-styles in the party's ranks. Each of our party members has the responsibility to raise the prestige of the party. They must make efforts to strengthen its leadership. At present, we must take the most practical action to unify ourselves politically behind the Party Central Committee, resolutely implement the line, principles and policies of the party, and join the masses in overcoming difficulties and in winning victory. Today there are still a few comrades who have yet to make a firm commitment to implement the party's line, thus weakening the force of unity in overcoming difficulties. It is hoped that such comrades will make quick efforts to raise their political consciousness and keep themselves abreast of the current situation. There are also other individual party members who have criticized the party's line in defiance of the party's influence and in violation of party discipline. In this way, they have adversely affected the morale of other people and hampered the efforts to strengthen the leadership of the party. Comrades who behave this way deserve our attention. There are also people who have adopted an attitude of complying with the party's line in public and opposing it in private or a passive attitude of resistance to it. We must resolutely struggle against such behavior. Recalling the revolutionary spirit of unity in overcoming difficulties under the guidance of the party during the early 1960's will inspire our morale.

Our country's difficulties were difficulties that should be shared by all. This was a human spirit of the early 1960's and a driving force that stimulated people to bravely overcome difficulties. At that time, in the face of difficulties the people were full of optimistic revolutionary spirit and spirit of unity and mutual assistance. They spared no effort to carry forward a selfless spirit of putting others before oneself in pursuit of the national interests. Cadres, party members and the masses shared weal and woe together, showed the same concern for the boat in which they were passengers, and were willing to do a fair share in overcoming difficulties. This was a spirit that inspired people's morale. Many people still remember that in order to alleviate famine, many cadres and workers swarmed to the countryside to harvest wild vegetables as supplementary food; when the rationing of food grains was assessed and determined, they always wanted to share what they got with the needy. This noble state of mind was common to people at that time because they placed the interests of the party and state above all else and regarded their country's difficulties as their own. Today, practical difficulties do exist in our life, difficulties which deserve our attention and efforts to seek solutions. But a few comrades have thought less of the difficulties their country faces and more of their individual successes and failures. How can the living standards be further improved and raised without making efforts to readjust the national economy and further develop production? Only those who view the difficulties their country faces as their own can correctly handle the relationship between the national and individual interests. Today, some individual comrades are not interested in overcoming difficulties which they think are other people's business. They are interested in seeking profits. They are even very greedy for money.

Such behavior is disgusting. We must worry about what the party, the state and the masses worry about, shoulder the heavy responsibility of our time, carry forward the spirit of devotion to serving others without any thought of self, vigorously promote the communist workstyle, and preserve the style of hard struggle. Pursuing profits as one's only aim is a shame, while devotion to serving public interest is a noble virtue. At present, special efforts must be made to carry forward the patriotic spirit; everyone should do a fair share in overcoming difficulties just as the people of the early 1960's did.

History tell us that the Chinese people are capable of overcoming difficulties. Particularly since the Chinese Communist party came into being and inspired the people with lofty revolutionary ideals, the revolutionary spirit of overcoming difficulties has prevailed. There was a spirit of hard struggle during the era of Yanan, a pioneering spirit during the early days of liberation, and a spirit of overcoming difficulties during the early 1960's. Tribute must be paid to those party members and masses of people with communist ideals and belief in inheriting, carrying forward and making these spirits grow in strength, spirits which have inspired the people to serve the revolutionary cause and steel their will in the face of difficulties. During the early 1960's, our party cadres shared weal and woe with the people. At that time many leading cadres lived frugally. They suffered from such diseases as edema and hepatitis caused by undernourishment. Our beloved and respected Premier Zhou set a rule for himself, promising not to eat meat and eggs in times of difficulties faced by the people. In entertaining friends, he even used corn meal and sliced rolls made of steamed flour as main courses. An old comrade who held a leading position with an institution of higher learning, who joined the revolution in 1933 and the 25,000-11 march later on, demonstrated the noble spirit of a dedicated Communist Party member in the face of difficulties. Originally he weighed 140 jin. During the difficult period he suffered from a swollen liver, swollen body and high blood pressure, causing him to lose 30 jin. With wages higher than others, he should have had no problem improving his nutrition. But he donated his savings of several thousand yuan to areas stricken with natural disasters. Leading cadres like him can serve as rallying points, guiding the masses to overcome difficulties. Before joining the revolution, he tended cows for landlords and worked as their long-term farm laborer and suffered class oppression. In the decades following his participation in the revolution, he kept the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle. That old Red Army fighter is one of many old comrades imbued with revolutionary ideals, morality and virtues.

The revolutionary ideals are an ideological basis for inspiring people to sacrifice. Today we must carry forward the spirit of dedication to the four modernizations and constantly strive for the realization of the revolutionary ideals. We must oppose extreme individualism, anarchism, guard against the erosion of bourgeois ideas, and further eliminate the influence of feudalism. We must adhere to the socialist road, uphold the people's democratic dictatorship or the dictatorship of the proletariat, and uphold the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must make greater efforts to carry forward the revolutionary spirit we upheld during the protracted revolutionary struggle. Every Communist Party member must voluntarily act as a vanguard in this field and instill such spirit in the minds of the entire population and the entire young generation. The call for the revival of our revolutionary spirit resembles an appeal for hoisting a big sail in our time which will lead us to ride the waves, break through storms and advance with courage.

9574

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COMPOSITION, THRUST OF PRESS LAW DISCUSSED

Hong Kong DONGXIANG (THE TREND) in Chinese No 28, 16 Jan 81 pp 30-31

[Article by Wen Chongshi [2429 1504 4258]: "Mainland Press Law in Ferment"]

[Text] At the Third Session of the Fifth People's Congress held last year, many representatives demanded in speeches that the state enact a press law. This proposal evoked strong repercussions from the national press, and furthermore the newspapers, periodicals, and radio abroad made it an important part of their news reporting.

In the past 6 months or so, calls by the Chinese Communist press for a press law have become louder and louder. In view of the lessons learned by the party committee in the past, under feudal and fascist editorial dictatorship, about flagrant interference in press work, news workers are making an effort to study the objective laws of press work under the new period of socialism and are demanding the thorough implementation of press democracy and the early enactment of a special law clearly stipulating the responsibilities, rights, and duties of editors and reporters and guaranteeing that the nation's citizens can fully exercise their rights of free speech and publication and the right of participation in the management of state affairs through the newspapers and other news media, while at the same time protecting against abuse of these rights. In November 1980, the periodical MINZHU YU FAZHI [LAW AND DEMOCRACY], which is published in Shanghai, carried an essay by Zhang Zonghou [1728 1350 0624] entitled "Preliminary Study for a Press Law" (hereafter called "Preliminary Study") which discusses this issue in depth and concretely.

First of all, "Preliminary Study" clearly points out that the press law which is currently being discussed is made up of specialized statutes directed toward the special realm of the news, and specialized laws and regulations concerning the news (including the news media comprising newspapers, news periodicals, radio, television, and newsreels, and the form and content of their collecting, editing, publishing and broadcasting). The essay looked back on the historical development of news legislation throughout the world, discussed the two main systems of administering news legislation which have been used in China and abroad--precautionary and punitive--and demanded that when formulating our press law, the authorities base it on China's conditions and experiences. It then stressed the following eight points:

Firmly uphold democratic principles

1. The fundamental point of departure and principle of adherence of a socialist press law are its democratic principles--i.e., to uphold and guarantee the participation of the people in the governing of the state, the economy, and culture, and to oversee state agencies and workers and the socialist democratic system. Administratively, the present situation in which the party substitutes for the government should be changed; it is necessary either to restore the "news office" which existed in China's early postliberation period or to establish some kind of news administration office under the State Council. Each province and municipality ought to have such an agency to protect lawful news activity and to limit and apply sanctions to unlawful press activity, on the basis of the constitution and the press law.

Guarantee a supply of goods and materials

2. In the present circumstances, where production and distribution of publishing and printing materials and radio and television equipment are under the unified control of the state and are far from adequate to meet demands, the press law should make appropriate stipulations that provide news publication materials and radio and television (especially popular news media, while considering rational distribution to all areas) with a guarantee of goods and materials. The expense of subscribing to periodicals should be reduced as much as possible. Periodicals which are poorly managed should have their supply of paper and other materials reduced and other economic methods should be used to limit them, so that limited materials can be used in the places that need them most.

Implement a punitive system

3. In a news management system, there are circumstances, possibilities, and needs for implementing a punitive system. This does not mean examining and restricting news releases before the fact, but anything in violation of the law should be punished in accordance with the relevant articles of the press law. In this way, while it is advantageous to fully develop the initiative of press workers and to strengthen their sense of responsibility, it is also possible to prevent flagrant interference in news reporting.

Permit the private operation of newspapers

4. Competition in newspapers should be developed, so that in practice and in the eyes of the people the good ones will progress and the bad ones will decline. The press should have a variety of forms of ownership. Individual citizens and collectives should be permitted to run newspapers. We should have not only party papers and government agency papers, but also a press of mass organizations, academic organizations, and individual citizens. Not only should we have a press owned by all the people, but we should permit collective ownership which will assume full responsibility for its success and failure.

Party committees should not review press copy

5. A reporter's right to report the true news should be guaranteed. The method actually in existence now, whereby party committees review news copy, should be changed. It is within the reporter's functions and rights to be independent, to retain the initiative in his own hands, and to be free to collect the news. Reporters have a responsibility to the facts, and the press has a responsibility to the law (the party press should obey party statutes and the resolutions of the Central Committee and be responsible to those levels of the party). Concerning news collection and reporting, no individual should interfere if it is not lawful to do so.

Have the right to criticize cadres

6. The press is a means for the people to express their desires and to supervise and criticize government and party cadres, and it is an important instrument of public opinion for participating in the governing of the country. In principle, the press and other organs of public opinion have the right to criticize the party and state leaders. For a long time in the past, democratic life was not healthy in China: there were thousands of years of feudal, dictatorial traditions; there was a decade of the poison of catastrophic feudal, fascist dictatorship; and even today, bureaucratism, paternalism, one person laying down the law, special privilege mentality, and other feudal ideas still dominate some people's thinking. Under such circumstances, press criticism and self-criticism are especially important. The press law should guarantee the right of the broad masses to expose and criticize through the press the shortcomings and mistakes of cadres and state agency personnel. So that these rights will not be infringed upon, the press law should provide for appropriate treatment and punishment for persons who are exposed if they carry out attacks in revenge upon those who expose them.

Guarantee academic debate

7. Guarantee the right of scientific workers to conduct free academic debate in the press. True science cannot rely on might for support, and even less can it rely on political power to coerce, for this can only make science suffocate. In the past, Ma Yinchu's "New Theory on Population" criticism, criticism of "two combine into one," the mistaken methods of "angling" and "luring the snake out of the cave" which were practiced in the press in 1957 did serious damage to the development of science and culture throughout the nation and to the state's political life. In view of the bitter lessons of the use of power as a substitute for truth, and even of the use of political force to suppress truth, the press law should make appropriate stipulations.

Clarify the boundaries between what is prohibited and what is acceptable

8. To protect the national interest and strengthen the development of the socialist system, there must be some statement of what is prohibited and what is acceptable. For example, opposing the leadership of the socialist system and the Communist Party, inciting to destruction of the social order and revealing state

secrets, using the news to slander or libel others, etc, should all fall within the sphere of what is prohibited, and the perpetrators should be disciplined or punished as appropriate. But these limitations should be as few as possible, so that the press will not be blamed for everything it does and end up being tied hand and foot. Socialist news should report the facts to the people accurately and comprehensively and should not be concerned whether these facts are joyful or sad, or whether they are accomplishments or shortcomings and mistakes.

A press law is an indispensable part of a nation's political laws. Today, when we are emphasizing and strengthening socialist democracy and a healthy socialist legal system, for the Central Committee to formulate a new press law will mean that the people will fully enjoy freedom of speech, publication, creation, research, and expression in the ideological and cultural realms. This is in accord with the will of the people, is a demand of the times, and is beneficial to the nation's four modernizations. "Preliminary Study" points out that the enactment of a new press law will open an even broader avenue for liberating ideology and can legalize and systematize the people's rights of free speech and publication under the constitution; it can make the broad masses of the people and news workers and writers and poets develop the habit of exposing and criticizing bad people and events; it can prevent any group, agency, or individual from interfering with this exposure and criticism if it is not lawful to do so; and it can guarantee free academic discussion. There is no doubt that this will benefit the prospering of the news, the development of socialist democracy, and the development of the initiative and creativity of the people, and it will help prevent the bureaucratism of cadres and their taking advantage of special privileges. Thus it will be good for the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

The people are waiting for the appearance and implementation of a press law by the Central Committee at an early date!

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO ABANDON 'CUTTING WITH ONE KNIFE' METHOD

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Lin Jingyao [2651 0079 5069]: "Cutting With One Knife--Theory of Knowledge--System"]

[Text] For a very long time, "cutting with one knife" has been rampant as a method of leadership work and as a workstyle. So-called "cutting with one knife" means application of one and the same pattern to the solution of problems that differ in a thousand ways. It means to disregard one's own real condition and instead copy word for word, indiscriminately the specific policies, experiences and methods of the superior organ or any other organ; it is "painting a gourd following a pattern" [copying mechanically]. After the debate on practice as the only standard for truth and especially after the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, an ideological line of dialectical materialism was reestablished in the party, and the phenomenon of "cutting with one knife" began to recede. However, the problem has not yet been radically solved and the phenomenon of "cutting with one knife" still exists to a serious extent. Some leading cadres pay lipservice to a rejection of "cutting with one knife," but whenever a concrete problem arises they again suggest issuing an administrative order and apply "one cut with the same knife." This leadership method and workstyle of "cutting with one knife" is exceedingly harmful to all work.

From the standpoint of the theory of knowledge, "cutting with one knife" is a kind of metaphysical, idealist mode of thinking and work method. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "To determine one's work policy according to actual conditions is the most fundamental work method that all communists must firmly bear in mind. Whenever we committed errors and studied the reason for the mistake, we found that it was committed because of our departing from actual conditions of time and place and because our work policy had been determined subjectively. This point must always be cited as a lesson to all our comrades." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1306)

It is regrettable that we forget this lesson again and again -- that the same mistakes are committed over and over. For many years, in our economic construction, although we did not hold back ample funds and there was also no lag in efforts on the part of the broad masses of cadres, workers, peasants and intellectuals, the economy still would not show much of an improvement over a long time. The reason for this was, apart from some other factors, that in our guiding ideology we had

moved away from the specific conditions in our country, in our prefecture or our society and practiced the subjectivism of "cutting with one knife," treating everything alike and thereby creating huge wastage and stifling the initiative and creativity of the broad masses of cadres and people. That was an important reason.

"Cutting with one knife" is a sign of ideological ossification or semiossification, as it is also a serious obstacle to carrying out our four modernizations. It means paying no attention to the familiar realities of one's own district, department or unit, or to the new conditions created in the course of the four modernizations or to the new problems posed by these projects. It means acting with only a half-baked knowledge of things or even without any knowledge at all, blindly following the old patterns and trusting the old experiences, hanging on to them passionately, considering them the ideal state of things, becoming totally infatuated with them and imparting this confusing infatuation to others. Both these conditions are apt to bring about an ossification of ideology, with an inability to accept new things and even less ability to create new things, and also with an inability to come up with correct principles and policies to solve problems in a way appropriate for that time and that place. The only ability left is one of carrying out whatever and in whichever way it was done in the past. They would then even boast of "firmly upholding principles," but actually by doing so turn the cause of socialism, which is brimming over with life, into a dull uniformity and an extremely inflexible affair.

There is a source in the theory of knowledge for "cutting with one knife," but the fact that it could gain such wide circulation has its reason in even more deep-seated factors, and these are the serious defects and abuses existing throughout all our institutions. These defects and abuses fomented the unchecked spread of "cutting with one knife" and in the end gave strength to this method of leadership and work-style, allowing it to grow into a tenaciously persevering matter.

The main defects and abuses that have been extant over a long period of time throughout all our institutions is the overcentralization of power and too much rigid unified control. In the past we understood it to be one of the superior advantages of socialism that all power was concentrated in the higher ranking party secretaries and that all affairs, regardless of their importance, were under one unified control. This we took to be the standard pattern of socialism and to be the only pattern that was possible under socialism. Overcentralization and all-embracing unified control on the one hand, and necessary centralization and unification of control and administrative measures on the other, are two different things. Under this system where everything is under an all-embracing unified control, the lower organs, economic organizations and industrial units have hardly any autonomy; they would also not dare strive for autonomy. so there would be no other way than to "cut with one knife." This was the way we muddled through in the past. When we had to mount a movement, the whole country would be "cutting with one knife," and every corner of the land, Han people districts and minority people districts, would all get into the act together. In addition, a fixed percentage would be determined for every area and every unit as a target figure. Those who did not achieve the percentage were considered as not having fulfilled their tasks, or even labelled as "rightists." In economic work the phenomenon of "cutting with one knife" was also extremely severe. In the past, activities demanded by such slogans as "take steel as the key link," "take grain as the key link," and "five small industries" in every prefecture, were acts of "cutting with one knife" carried out throughout the country. The severity of

harm thus inflicted has been experienced by many people, and the consequences have not yet been completely overcome to this day. This phenomenon of overcentralization of power was regarded by us for a long time as the true meaning of socialism. Actually the overcentralization of power and the "cutting with one knife" that it engendered are not intrinsic defects of socialism but rather distortions of socialism or deviation that occurred in the course of socialist practice. Therefore, only a reform of this system of overcentralization will bring out the true meaning of socialism.

The phenomenon of "cutting with one knife" is also related to the abuses in our present cadre system. Some comrades know well that "cutting with one knife" is wrong, but they still practice it, they only imitate others or do only what they are told to do. Why is that so? It is done out of fear of committing errors. At the time when Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company were on the rampage, ultraleftist things were freely current everywhere. Some comrades are afraid to commit so-called errors in political line and will therefore carry out without fail whatever is ordered from above.

In the present process of carrying out the system of joint production responsibility, some comrades are trying to sound out the situation. They observe the attitude taken by their superiors. If they find out that their superior is not in favor of joint production responsibility, or that he is not in favor of a certain type of responsibility system, when they have reached that "bottom line" in their groping about, they will not dare to institute that system on the basis of truthfulness to facts and local conditions. They will even go so far as to rescind their own decisions originally made to fit local conditions and will only act as their superior orders, so as not to commit an error and lose their job. Selfishness and fear of losing whatever benefits they have acquired are the important reasons here. But this is very much related to our present cadre system. Thirty years after the establishment of our government, there still is in the minds of the masses a longing for a "true dragon of an emperor" and for "incorrupt officials," officials acting like "father and mother of the people," as were Bao Gong and Hai Rui. This is due partly to the influence of feudal small peasant mentality, but it is also directly related to our present cadre system. If we had a perfect election system instead of a system of appointments and dismissals by a superior, the masses and the electorate could at all times dismiss or suggest the dismissal of incompetent or disagreeable cadres. This would mean that the decision as to whether a cadre is to remain in office would not be made by his superior but by the masses and the electorate. The masses would then not pin their hopes on finding one, two or more "incorrupt officials," and it would also greatly reduce the mentality of "complete subservience to one superior" and a comparable workstyle, including the "cutting with one knife," which is linked to such "complete subservience to one superior." It is clear from all this that a reform of the system is urgently needed in order to overcome the "cutting with one knife," this leadership method and workstyle which runs counter to the vital interests of the masses.

There are deepgoing objective reasons for the phenomenon of "cutting with one knife," but that does not justify it as fair and reasonable. It also does not mean that the elimination of "cutting with one knife" must await the reform of the system and that we are completely helpless prior to such a reform. Actually, following the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the people have gained liberation

from many mistaken and outmoded rules and conventions, and the incidence of too rigid controls and of "cutting with one knife" in the decisions and directives of leading organs of party and state have already decreased. Many cadres have found the courage to base themselves in their work on their own actual conditions and on the demands of the masses. During the past year or so, various reforms in our economic and political institutions have been carried out, such as the strengthening and expansion of autonomy in localities and production units, the emphasis on having localities and units develop their strongpoints and give up any weak points, etc. Implementation of these new general and specific policies will render the leadership method of "cutting with one knife" inoperative. It will reduce the area in which the "cutting with one knife" could grow up, and the leadership methods and workstyle of our cadres will be improved. However, since "cutting with one knife" has been current for a long time and since all our institutions are conducive to "cutting with one knife," it has already become a custom with our cadres. To thoroughly eliminate "cutting with one knife" will require a continuing huge effort. Rectifying the ideological line and reforming the system cannot be achieved in one move. However, once we truly recognize the dangerous nature of "cutting with one knife" and make a firm resolution not to engage in "cutting with one knife" any more we shall in the end be able to overcome this leadership method and workstyle which is so hateful to the masses.

8453

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY COMMITTEES REMINDED NOT TO UNDERTAKE JUDICIAL TASKS

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052], "Party Committees Must Not Continue to Examine and Approve Cases"]

[Text] The Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure have now been in force for 1 year. The party committees at all levels have done great work in strengthening the socialist legal system and in upholding the sanctity of the law. Now procuratorates and courts of prefectural and higher levels have been staffed with cadres and have already taken up their duties. They are applying the law in a great variety of current cases and in addition have also conscientiously taken up the task of re-trying and redressing many cases of past miscarriage of justice in a very effective way. In order to raise the professional level of judicial personnel at all levels and increase their ability to handle cases, the party committees at all levels are conducting short term courses and training cadres in teams. We must point out, however, that some cadres, in particular cadres in leading positions, still do not fully understand why we have to discontinue the method of having party committees examine and approve cases. As a consequence there is still much misunderstanding and the new laws are not being implemented effectively; in some instances there is even open defiance and resistance. A few days ago a responsible member of a prefectural party committee brandished the accusation of "agitating for independence from the party," interfered in the judicial proceedings of the court and quite unjustifiably dismissed the chief procurator from his office. When this incident was published in the newspapers, it did not even arouse much attention among party secretaries. Recently, there was another prefectural party committee that seriously interfered with the independent judicial functions of the court and refused to carry out the court decision so that the case remained unresolved.

In September 1979 the CCP Central Committee published directives which firmly insure the effective implementation of the Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure. These directives clearly stipulate that the system of examination and approval of cases by the party secretaries is to be abolished. At the symposium on criminal court procedure held in Peking last August, Jiang Hua, president of the People's Supreme Court, pointed out that abolition of the examination and approval of cases by party committees is an important reform with regard to the guidance of the party committees in judicial work. Changing the practice of having party committees undertake judicial tasks will help us overcome the evil of the party taking place of government agencies and unsubstantiated pronouncements taking the place of law. In the leadership relationship it will guarantee independent judgments

according to law by the people's courts. Party leadership should manifest itself mainly in guiding the judicial organs in a resolute implementation of the line, the general and specific policies of the party's central authorities, and also in supervising and giving full support to the judicial personnel in their firm adherence to the law in handling cases and in carrying out examinations and adjudgment of cases strictly according to law; party leadership does not mean undertaking judicial tasks.

Independent judicature, obedience to nothing but the law, and exclusion of all illegal interference from government agencies, organizations or individuals is the concrete manifestation of the party's general and specific policies. It shows that here obedience to the law and obedience to the guidance of the party are one and the same. There is no ground to assume that the independence of the judicature means separation from the party's guidance or opposition to the party's guidance. Precisely the contrary is true; it is the action of the above-mentioned two prefectural party committee members, using various pretexts to willfully interfere in the judicial processes and preventing independent judicial action by the judicial organs, that is the mistaken way of doing things, which not only violates the law but also deviates from the principles of the party and cripples the leadership of the party. It is well expressed in the directives of the CCP Central Committee to firmly insure strict implementation of the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, namely that it is not admissible for any reason whatsoever to order public safety or procuratorial organs to violate the legal limitations laid down in the Criminal Code or to disregard judicial procedure laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure, either by indiscriminate arrests or seizures or by deviating from the provisions of the law through arbitrary decisions or through increasingly lightening due punishments. Leaders of all ranks in party and government, whether high or low, powerful or less powerful, must not impose their own pronouncements in place of law or have their own personal ideas treated as law and force others to carry them out as if they were law and force others to carry them out as if they were law.

If the party committee is of a different opinion or refuses to accept the court's ruling or cannot agree to the measure of punishment, the committee can lodge an appeal against the court's decision as provided under the law. As long as the court of higher instance has not yet altered the decision, or if the original decision is upheld, the party committee must in all its actions submit to the verdict of the court and uphold the verdict. It is completely wrong to act like the above-mentioned two prefectural party committees and make wild accusations against the cadres of the law court, saying that they "don't obey party guidance," "lack sense of organization," etc. Would it rather be the correct attitude if they showed no understanding of the above-mentioned Central Committee directives and turned deaf ear to these directives?

The practice of 30 years of political and legal work has proven that a working system of mutual cooperation and mutual restraints between the three agencies, the public safety organs, the procuratorate and the law courts, has been very effective and completely successful in striking down the enemy, protecting the people and curbing crime. The reason for cooperation and mutual restraint between these three agencies working so well was that the preconditions existed: the law courts independently administered justice, the procuratorate independently exercised the right of investigation and the public safety organs independently exercised the right of crime detection. A method of having the party committee examine and ap-

prove concrete cases in actual fact deprives each of the three agencies, the public safety organs, the procuratorate and the law courts, from turly and independently exercising its rights according to law; still less could they fulfill their function of mutual restraint. Orders would in every respect be received from the party committee and in some cases one or two men would give the final verdict, while the division of work between the three agencies (i.e., the public safety organs to do the detective work and initial investigation, the procuratorate to approve and submit the indictment, the law court to examine the case and pass sentence) would become a mere formality. This would obstruct to the highest degree any initiative of the public safety and judicial organs and render all the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure mere scraps of paper, utterly empty and meaningless, and ineffective in giving full play to the potentialities of these legal provisions.

Examination and approval of cases by the party committee would also make mere formalities of such institutions as public trials, the participation of jurors, the defense by attorneys, etc, because all questions of guilt and the measure of punishment would already have been decided by the party committee. It would of course be quite superfluous to arrange for a public hearing, to hear defense arguments by an attorney or other defense council, or to hear opinions from jurors in the collegiate bench.

To sum up, the method of having the party committee examine and approve cases is diametrically opposed to the principle of having law courts decide cases independently according to law. If the situation is not strictly rectified in this sense, the "two laws" cannot be effectively implemented. This would be highly detrimental to any rule by law and to a strengthening of the socialist legal system. The question merits our serious attention.

8453

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LEADERS URGED TO DO IDEOLOGICAL WORK AMONG MASSES

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 80 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "Do Ideological Work Among the Masses"]

[Text] The leaders of the party committee of Zhejiang University have conducted "dialogs" and personally done ideological work with the students--an encouraging step in the way to do ideological and political work under the new circumstances. This is a very good method that deserves to be promoted.

We are now living in a great transitional period in history. The broad masses of cadres and people dare to speak out and express their views. They are ideologically active and have much to discuss. The mainstream is healthy and progressive, but like everything else it has a dual nature and some negative factors can emerge. This demands that we give ideological and political work a highly important position and earnestly pay special attention to it. There are numerous advantages for leading comrades of the party committee of Zhejiang University to do ideological and political work by going deep among the masses, meeting and talking with students directly. First, leaders do not treat others in the manner of educators; they do not use force and coercion but use an attitude of equality and consultation, a method of discussion and exchange of views, to explain reasons and resolve problems in order to unify everyone's ideology to the overall situation of construction of the four modernizations. Second, this method has altered the bureaucratic style of staying aloof, listening to reports, and making comments. When leaders put themselves among the masses, become their intimate friends, and talk intimately with them, they help to link up ideology and clear up misunderstandings. Third, removing obstructions encourages the free airing of views and pools the wisdom of the masses. It also adopts a diversity of forms to guide different ways of thinking in a positive and correct direction, changing the old practice of either doing things in an oversimplified and crude way or letting things slide.

It originally was an old tradition of our party for leaders to do ideological and political work among the masses, but this tradition has been abandoned and forgotten by quite a few people. Up to now it has been abandoned and forgotten by quite a few people. Up to now it has been far from being revived. At present, some leaders are aware of the particularly numerous ideological problems among cadres and people but are unwilling to step out of their offices and get themselves moving among the masses to understand conditions, exchange

views, and resolve problems. Some leaders pursue the philosophy of "growing more flowers but fewer thorns." They are aware of the numerous contradictions and problems that exist in some places and units and, and yet they always steer away from contradictions and are reluctant and afraid to pay attention to them. Some leaders still adopt the old ways of doing ideological and political work. They are helpless in resolving ideological problems of the new period. They do a casual job, their method is narrow, and they cannot grasp the essentials. These conditions must be corrected. Various levels of party committees must justly, forcefully, and decisively put ideological and political work in a leading position, eliminate the bad habits of bureaucratism in the realm of ideological work, and strive to master the law of doing ideological and political work, and strive to master the law of doing ideological and political work under the new circumstances. In the methods of ideological work, we must open up all channels to make use of various vivid and vigorous forms of putting ideological education among rich and varied activities.

9586

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM OF CADRES BY MASSES ENCOURAGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 80 p 4

[Article by Qiao Wen [0829 2429]: "Let the Masses Criticize the Cadres"]

[Text] In the mind of some comrades, the promotion, employment, and deployment of cadres are purely matters studied behind closed doors by a minority of people in organizational departments and "cannot be discussed with outsiders." In order to overcome these defects and do well in cadre work, I say we should let the masses criticize and we should listen to their opinions.

Some comrades become anxious as soon as we mention criticism of cadres. They worry that this might expose their shortcomings and consequently affect the confidence of the masses in them. Of course, criticizing the cadres will unavoidably include discussing their merits as well as their shortcomings and mistakes. Enabling the masses to make an overall evaluation of cadres through criticism does not involve the question of affecting the prestige of cadres. A cadre with relatively more shortcomings and mistakes will not be able to hide the truth from the masses. If we cover up someone's faults and publicize his merits, defending his shortcomings, it will merely result in greater dissatisfaction on the part of the masses and a loss of their confidence in the cadre.

Some comrades worry that criticism of cadres by the masses might affect the cadres' enthusiasm. By criticizing the cadres, the masses are also supervising them. Supervision by the masses can keep cadres sober-minded, can uncover problems in their work promptly, and can continually improve their work. It can also impel cadres to strengthen the self-cultivation of their ideology and style and can effectively improve their world outlook. Therefore, allowing the masses to criticize cadres is precisely intended to arouse the latter's socialist zeal and their enthusiasm for serving the people. Of course, it is not possible for criticism by the masses to be totally correct. Cadres can also take part in discussions to provide necessary explanations. Actually, discussion on a more personal level is more fruitful than discussion on a broader basis; criticism to one's face is inevitably better than criticism behind one's back. By listening to it himself, one can "correct mistakes if one has made any, and guard against them if he has not."

Some comrades also worry that criticism of cadres by the masses might affect the normal work of organizational departments. The normal work of organizational

departments. The normal work of organizational departments should be to comprehensively understand cadres and correctly employ them. Cadres work for the masses; the masses best understand them. Through criticism of cadres, organizational departments can listen to various views so that they can understand the cadres more comprehensively. The masses' appraisals of cadres sometimes differ. Which ones are correct? To eliminate the false and retain the correct, and to get a clear understanding of the cadres, we cannot rely on the judgment of several people but only on broad and full discussions.

Criticism of cadres by the masses is an important aspect of the people being the masters. The people have the right to manage the state; naturally they have the right to criticize their own servants. Of course, criticism of cadres is not conducted regardless of circumstances or irresponsibly. It should be carried out with leadership and organization. Good criticism should be an important aspect of reforming the management system of cadres.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY LEADERSHIP MUST GIVE UP SOME ADMINISTRATIVE TASKS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Dec 80 p 3

[Article by Liu Dingfu (0491 1353 1381) and Zhao Xinmin (6392 2450 3046): "To Adhere to Party Leadership Does Not Mean To Take On Everything"]

[Text] The Third Plenum of the Fifth National People's Congress decided to separate party work and administrative work realistically and explicitly. This is an important measure for strengthening and improving party leadership and is highly significant.

In undertaking the four modernizations, we must adhere to and strengthen party leadership, which is the basic guarantee for the victory of our cause and must not be shaken at any time. However, adhering to order to extensively mobilize and organize the broad masses of people to take part in the construction of the four modernizations, we must give full play to the state organs, popular groups, and various economic organizations, and we must let them independently bear responsibility for work.

If the party does not take on everything, does this mean that party leadership is weakened? No. We should differentiate the work of administrative departments and let various levels of professional departments organize and implement the work within the scope of their authority, in accordance with the party line, general and specific policies, in order that full play be given to the function and role of the organs of state power. This does not mean abolishing party leadership of the organs of state power, nor does it mean that these organs can detach themselves from party leadership or that they do not need to implement the party line, general and specific policies. On the contrary, this will enable the party committee to free itself from work that is loaded down with trivial things in order to concentrate its energy on getting a good grasp of the party's construction, ideological work, and political work and the propagandizing and implementation of the party line, general and specific policies. In particular, if the first secretary of the party committee no longer were to hold administrative posts concurrently and no longer were to busy himself with routine work such as attending meetings and writing out instructions to subordinates, then he would be able to spend even more time going deep into the realities of life, investigating and studying maintaining links with the masses, and doing a good job of managing the party's ideology, organization, and style so that the party leadership might truly be improved and strengthened.

From a practical standpoint, it is very harmful for the party and administration not to be separate and for the party to take the place of the administration. First, if authority is concentrated entirely in the party committee, particularly in the first person in charge, who has the final say in resolving various important party, political, financial, and cultural problems, it will easily result in subjectivism and bureaucratism with one person having all the say, impairing the normal practice of democracy. Second, if the party committee takes on everything, and if all problems are discussed and resolved by the committee before they are brought to administrative meetings for discussion, it will create red tape, an unnecessary flow of official papers, endless disputes over trifles, and very low work efficiency. Third, if every level has to convey information and to request instructions, and if there is no perfect and effective work system in the professional departments, then the function of the organs of state power will not be given full play and the standard of management will not be improved, making work very passive. In short, there are many defects when the party committee takes on everything, and it is imperative that they are remedied. Only by conscientiously changing the style of leadership from taking on everything can we suit the needs of construction of the four modernizations in the new period.

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PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG FORUM URGES STRENGTHENING PROPAGANDA WORK

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 Dec 80 p 1

[Article provided by NANFANG RIBAO: "Ideological and Political Work Must Be Strengthened in the New Long March"]

[Text] An ideological and political work forum was recently held by the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to convey and study the guidelines of a similar forum sponsored by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Another purpose of the forum was to study problems of how to strengthen the ideological and political work in response to the actual needs of Guangdong, how to make it play the role of fife and drums, and how to uphold the thorough Marxist spirit as a guarantee for success in developing the socialist modernization.

The forum was attended by municipal, prefectural and autonomous prefectural propaganda department directors from Guangzhou, Hainan and other parts of Guangdong; responsible comrades of propaganda units of provincial level organs and of other units in charge of ideological and political work directly under the provincial party committee and the provincial government. A responsible comrade of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee addressed the forum. A responsible comrade of its propaganda department delivered a speech at the forum on strengthening the theoretical propaganda work and improving newspaper operations. Representatives of four units, including the party committee of the Guangzhou Machine Tools Plant, conveyed to the forum their successful experiences in ideological and political work.

Those attending the forum conscientiously studied speeches delivered by leading comrades of the Party Central Committee at the ideological and political forum held by the central propaganda department, a contributing commentator's article entitled "Be a Thorough Marxist" carried by RED FLAG in its issue no 24, and RENMIN RIBAO editorial entitled "Strengthening the Ideological and Political Work Is a Guarantee for Accomplishing the Four Modernizations." They said: The speeches by central leading comrades and the RED FLAG contributing commentator's article were very important. They were an ideological weapon for us to do the ideological and political work well during the new historical period. Particularly, the article on being a thorough Marxist reflects a basic requirement expected of vast numbers of cadres, especially those in charge of propaganda and theoretical

work and newspaper operations. It also deals with problems concerning the basic marxist stand and viewpoint and method. We must instill the thorough Marxist spirit in every field of work, persist in the approach to seek truth from facts, display the dauntless spirit, show courage and ingenuity in facing up to history, reality and the future. Only in this way can we sum up and answer a series of important questions about the Chinese revolution and construction, and come up with correct conclusions. They said: Upholding the thorough Marxist spirit is a matter of vital significance to the strengthening of the ideological and political work. It is necessary to accurately disseminate the Marxist viewpoint that the masses of people are the makers of history, and correctly convey to the public the relationships between individuals and their organization, between leaders and the masses, and between individuals and collectives. We must oppose the worship of cults. The conference stressed the need for party members, cadres, and the masses to devote time to conscientiously studying speeches by central leading comrades, and the article "Be a Thorough Marxist" so that they can gain a deep insight into their spirit and essence and guide people to strive to accomplish the four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

In addition to fully endorsing our province's achievements in ideological and political work since the downfall of the "gang of four," the conference pointed out: there still exist in some units and departments tendencies of ignoring and slackening efforts in all other fields. The conference stressed: as our country is entering a new historical period and the emphasis of the party's work is being shifted to the development of socialist modernization, we must press forward with a series of far-reaching readjustments and political and economic reforms. This is a great turning point in history. At this great turning point in history, there exist in the process of major reforms complicated contradictions and problems; unavoidably, some murky and erroneous ideas may be expressed by cadres and the masses. Under such circumstances, if there is no propaganda work leading the way, and if there is no pledge of support in terms of powerful ideological and political work, there will be no guarantee for success in readjusting the national economy steadily, and in developing the four modernizations program. For this reason, during this new historical period, the ideological and political work should be greatly strengthened rather than weakened.

In addition to conscientiously analyzing the special features of ideological and political work for this new historical period, the conference discussed and studied the following problems that need to be solved and that presently face those in charge of ideological and political work: 1) It is necessary to guide party members, cadres and the masses to achieve an accurate understanding of the current situation, to view our socialist system in perspective of its essence, mainstream and trend of its development so that they can gain a full picture of our tremendous achievements during the past 31 years, realizing that those difficulties and problems that presently exist in our country are inevitable as we move forward. It is also necessary to convince them that effective measures can be taken by our party to gradually solve such problems. 2) It is necessary to continuously emancipate the mind, eliminate the left line and the pernicious influence of left ideas and to correctly review the experiences and lessons of the past 31 years. 3) It is necessary to do economic propaganda work well with emphasis centering around the policy to readjust and stabilize the economy.

4) Further efforts must be made to organize party members, to conscientiously study and implement the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and to effectively rectify the workstyle of the party. Guangdong is a province authorized to implement a special policy along with some flexible measures. In view of this, it must pay special attention to grasping well the propaganda and educational task against the rotten bourgeois ideas. In addition, it must regularly launch propaganda campaigns to educate the public in new marriage law, planned parenthood and to persuade them to do away with feudal superstitions. Those in charge of ideological and political work must uphold the policy of persuasion and education. The conference concluded: The party must strengthen its leadership over the ideological and political work as a key step in strengthening this work. The entire party must get involved in the ideological and political work. The Party Central Committee has required that responsible comrades of party committees at all levels must play a direct role in this field so that the tendency of ignoring the ideological and political work can be overcome; every year, party committees at all levels must hold several discussions on this matter so that related arrangements can be made, related requirements can be set, and related work can be reviewed. Efforts must be made to build a powerful ideological and political workers contingent, to reorganize and replenish the propaganda organs, and to transform "a smaller number of presently weak and not well-trained" propaganda teams. Propaganda bases must be built and strengthened. Propaganda departments and cadres in charge of ideological and political work must be encouraged to overcome a mood characterized by a lack of confidence. Only in this way can they, backed by party committees, actively and voluntarily develop work and serve well as advisors for and assistants to the party committees.

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CSD: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PERFUNCTORY ATTITUDE TOWARD CENTRAL INSTRUCTIONS REPUDIATED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jan 81 p 3

[Commentary by Li Cheng [2621 2052]: "A Note on 'Why Take It So Seriously?'"]

[Text] Recently, I heard a Party Central Committee document being conveyed to the people at the Zhongshan Memorial Hall. Because we were informed beforehand that the content to be conveyed was very important, the audience was larger and its attention seemed more concentrated than ever. Shortly after the meeting to convey the document began ceremoniously, a comrade sitting in a row in front of me took a notebook out of his pocket and jotted down what he heard. But another comrade, probably his acquaintance, who sat by his side tapped his shoulder by saying: "Oh! Why take it so seriously? Nobody can expect how soon it will undergo another change." To that comrade, it seems that whether such Party Central Committee documents should be seriously studied or not is not important at all. As far as I know, he was not the only individual who has taken such an attitude toward the Party Central Committee documents.

No one should take it seriously because it may undergo another change. This argument is unfounded. First of all, it must be pointed out: The important document adopted by the Party Central Committee recently is the continuation and extension of the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The problem of "changes" is nonexistent. Studying the aforementioned central document means restudying and reeducating us in the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Of course, according to the dialectical materialist viewpoint, nothing can remain unchanged in the world. The formulation of our party's policies results from the application of the basic Marxist viewpoint in conjunction with the actual situation of specific periods. As time goes on and the situation is undergoing changes, some of the party's specific policies may have to be modified and replenished so that they can become more perfect. But this cannot be used as an excuse for refusing to study the document seriously. The party's current policies are documents designed to answer and solve the practical problems we face and to expound its previous principles and policies, and are a powerful weapon to clarify our thoughts, to reach a consensus and to score success in work. Let us think that if we do not study the party documents well, how can we politically unify ourselves behind the Party Central Committee? How can we correctly and thoroughly implement the party's policies and do our work well?

The term "why take it so seriously" essentially reflects a contemptuous and erroneous attitude on the part of some comrades toward the party documents. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has adopted many documents to explicitly and profoundly expound a series of principles and policies. Many comrades not only have studied them seriously but also have used them to guide their thought and work. Yet, we still can see that a few comrades are affected by unhealthy study styles. They are either unwilling to study the documents seriously or study them in a perfunctory manner. Because of their inability to understand the documents thoroughly, they are in no position to answer questions about practical work, questions that other wise can be easily answered. Others have even criticized the central documents. The policy guidelines adopted by the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are consistent and a continuous series. Because of their unwillingness to study them seriously, some comrades have complained that the party has changed its policies. Individual comrades are chanting hymns discordant with the central documents. They even have taken an attitude of complying with them in public but opposing them in private. These are unhealthy study styles reflecting weaknesses in their party character. Any Communist Party member who disagrees with the party's principles and policies can bring their views up for discussion at party meetings. He can also refer his views to the higher level party organizations in accordance with its organizational principles. But once actions are taken, he must carry them out unconditionally rather than going his own righteous way. Many important documents have been issued since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They need to be repeatedly and seriously studied in conjunction with reality. They cannot be fully comprehended by anyone who has gone over them roughly only once. Only in this way can we truly and thoroughly understand these documents and unify our thinking behind the guidelines of the Party Central Committee.

We must rectify our style and take effective measures to study the central documents well. Only in this way can we achieve unity between our thinking and the party's policies and strive to score greater success in readjusting the economy and to bring about greater political stability.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'WORKS OF ZHOU ENLAI' STRESSES SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by Zhang Jiangming [1728 3068 2494]: "Conscientiously Study and Promote the Spirit of Seeking Truth From Facts--Lessons From Studying Volume 1 of the Selected Works of Zhou Enlai"]

[Text] Publication of the first volume of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," which we have long thirsted for, reflects the will of the people of the whole country. This [volume of the] "Selected Works" demonstrates how Comrade Zhou Enlai adhered to the Marxist ideological line and united the universal truth of Marxism with the specific conditions in our country, and it embodies the precious achievements of his efforts to solve problems of the Chinese revolution by applying Marxist theory. This is a work of major historic importance and realistic significance; it is an important historical document enabling us to learn about and master Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and it is a powerful ideological weapon which helps develop and promote the construction of our four modernizations.

I

Compiled in Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" are the principal works of the period of the democratic revolution. The contents are very rich, and the discourses very profound; the fundamental viewpoint that runs through the whole book is adherence to the spirit of seeking truth from facts. This is the core of the Marxist ideological line, the point of departure of Mao Zedong Thought, and the party's fine tradition and workstyle. Violation of [the precept of] seeking truth from facts would prompt one to develop toward idealism. In his article "Learning from Mao Zedong," Comrade Zhou Enlai repeatedly talked about learning from Comrade Mao Zedong's "spirit of seeking truth from facts" ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 342; only the page reference will be given hereafter for citations from this same book. Although he did not talk very much, it is more important that Comrade Zhou Enlai succeeded in his revolutionary practice in analyzing problems and handling problems with the viewpoint and method of seeking truth from facts. This is most precious. After the liberation of the whole country, Comrade Zhou Enlai mentioned many times how "we must prescribe various targets by seeking truth from facts" (1956), how "we must advocate the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts" (1964), and how we must restore and promote

"the workstyle of seeking truth from facts and the mass line" (1973). In studying Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," we must conscientiously study Comrade Zhou Enlai's spirit and practice of seeking truth from facts so that, with it, we can study and solve the new situations and new problems in the four modernizations, keep out subjectivity in line with objectivity, and do an even better job of handling our work.

In "Reform Our Study" and in a speech, Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Chen Yun, respectively, made a scientific analysis of seeking truth from facts. Their basic spirit has been consistent. Comrade Chen Yun said: We have always talked about seeking truth from facts; "from facts" means that we must clarify the actual situation in question, and "seeking truth" means that we must bring about correct policies in line with the results of our study. If we "wish to understand the situation, the only way is to conduct an investigation in society" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," single volume edition, p 747), discuss matters on hand with the masses, and follow the mass line. Together, Comrade Zhou Enlai and comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, and others fostered the party's fine tradition and workstyle of seeking truth from facts, conducting studies and investigations, and following the mass line. As early as September 1929, Comrade Zhou Enlai had already proposed: "Investigatory work should be carried out earnestly" (p 36); "We must do so through the mass line" (p 39). If we really get down to honestly "doing a good job in our study and investigation and analysis of problems" (p 209) and also fully follow "the mass line," this will enable us to clearly discover the actual situation by seeking truth from facts in our "conscientious practice" (p 129) and formulate policies in accord with objective realities. After having such policies, we must also "seek to prove, in the course of our practice, whether our party's line and policies are correct or whether they require amendment" (p 129).

Not only did Comrade Zhou Enlai expound the viewpoint of seeking truth from facts in theory, but he acted this way in practice. Together with comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, and others before liberation, he went deep down to conduct investigations and studies, master the changes in the relative situation between ourselves and our enemy, and thereby formulate correct strategies and tactics, direct our myriad armed forces, and win victories in the revolution. After liberation, he undertook heavy responsibilities, attended to myriad important matters each day, and worked hard day and night, but his conduct remained the same: he walked the length and breadth of the motherland, and he went deep down to the factories and the countryside to personally convene investigatory meetings, to listen to the opinions of the masses, and to take the scientifically analyzed actual situation as the basis for formulating the party's line, principles, and policies. At present we are carrying out economic construction, with readjustment of the national economy as its central task. This is a complicated and formidable historic task which requires us to learn even more attentively of Comrade Zhou Enlai's spirit of seeking truth from facts so as to go down deep to carry out investigation and study, fully follow the mass line, genuinely understand the situation at hand, formulate correct policies, guide the vast ranks of the masses to exert and apply themselves, and work on the four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

II

Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "The Communist Party regards its historical-materialist ideology to be most correct" (p 341). Follow the basic viewpoint of historical materialism and understand and handle the relationship between the individual and the masses with the spirit of seeking truth from facts--i.e., with a thorough materialist spirit: this is an important part of Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai."

The materialist view of history holds that the dialectical relationship between the individual and the masses contains two mutually related points of view: First of all, the masses of people are affirmed as the creators of history. The very great role playing by outstanding personalities in history is also acknowledged, so that individuals are regarded as capable of propelling or hampering the development of history to some degree. Therefore, insofar as the role of the individual is concerned, we can neither deny nor exaggerate; those who determine the development of history, in the final analysis, are the masses of people. Proceeding from our actual situation, Comrade Zhou Enlai adhered to, and expounded, the historical-materialist point of view concerning the mutual relationship between leaders and the masses by fully affirming the important role of revolutionary leaders, on the one hand, and by clearly opposing deifying individuals, giving exceptional prominence to individuals, and harboring superstition toward individuals. He said: "Mao Zedong is a great man grown from China's own soil. When friends who are present today proceed to propagate to youths of the whole country or carry out their own study, they must never regard Mao Zedong as a mystical, mysterious leader whose characteristics and attributes cannot be learned. If so, acknowledging our leader would have become empty talk. If nobody could learn his characteristics and attributes, would Mao Zedong not have become isolated by everybody? Would we not have taken Mao Zedong as an isolated deity? That would be the kind of leader propagated in feudal society and bourgeois society" (pp 331-332). This is to say that there is a difference between a leader of the proletariat and a leader of the exploitive classes. The proletariat acknowledges a revolutionary leader to be "a great personality," an outstanding personality who advances society and history, but it cannot take such a leader as "an isolated deity," nor can it turn the scientific theory of such a leader into a theology which "nobody can learn." A leader is not a "born" entity dropped from heaven, but one "who has accumulated countless examples of struggle and successful battle, emerged from the midst of the masses, and become duly tested" (p 27). He is not "mysterious" beyond comprehension or lofty beyond touch, but one who is both equipped with outstanding strongpoints and talents and marked by defects and mistakes, and whose attributes can be learned by others. He is not a lonely person separated from the masses but one who "has grown out of the midst of the people" (p 332). The leader and the masses, the leader and the class, and the leader and the party are united in a single entity; one cannot become a revolutionary leader apart from the masses, apart from class, and apart from the party. As long as there are objective needs in struggle and demands on the part of the vast ranks of the masses, history will always push a contingent of people forward to become leaders. Comrade Zhou Enlai profoundly explained how our people created their own leaders and their great achievements in the course of their revolutionary practice. He said: "Thirty years of practice in the revolutionary movement

have enabled the Chinese people to have their own leader, who is namely Mao Zedong" (p 331). "Chairman Mao insisted on turning the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism into concrete reality on China's soil and making it grow into the strength of the masses; that is why the Chinese revolution gained such a great victory" (p 338). Comrade Zhou Enlai also explained that the leader is not a single individual but a leading collectivity. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great leader of the people who matured through the tests of long periods of struggle on China's soil. Comrade Zhu De was also "one of the people's leaders" (p 246); the four comrades including Peng Pai and others, and the seven comrades including Wang Ruefei and others, were all "leaders of the masses," "revolutionary leaders" (pp 27, 233), and so forth. Comrade Zhou Enlai's discourses on the role of leaders and on opposition to the deification of individuals, and his discourses on the historical role of the masses of people and the mass line, still have great significance today; they are ideological weapons for strengthening and improving the leadership of our party.

When he analyzed the several different attitudes toward learning the qualities of the founder of Marxism in his "On the Self-Cultivation of a Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi first of all criticized "representatives of dogmatism" like Wang Ming, who never really understood Marxism but who "appeared in the party in the pretense of Marx and Lenin" and demanded that our party members "uphold him as 'leader.'" Then, he pointed out: "Another kind of people and completely the reverse of the other kind. They first of all regard themselves as the pupils of the founders of Marxism-Leninism," proceed to unite the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice in the revolution of their own country, and conscientiously inspect whether they, on their own part, have handled matters, handled people, and handled themselves in accordance with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and whether they have personally and earnestly practiced that spirit. Comrade Zhou Enlai was an outstanding leader and a great Marxist of our party and people who was long tested and well loved. He was humble and prudent and acted in accordance with the thorough materialist spirit of seeking truth from facts. He never looked upon himself as a leader; he never assumed that he was meritorious, nor did he become arrogant; and he disliked very much, and even prohibited, attempts to praise and worship him personally. Huaian County, Jiangsu Province, is the land of his birth and also the place where he spent his childhood years; during the early years after liberation, Huaian County repeatedly proposed building his former residence into a memorial hall, but he always maintained an attitude of opposition to this, and time and again he admonished the county party committee to demolish his old residence and build it into a factory or to assign it to other people as a residence. When he learned that his old residence had not been demolished, he telephoned the Huaian Party Committee four times through the State Council and instructed them: 1. not to let people visit it; 2. not to mobilize the residents already there to move out; and 3. not to maintain or repair it if it should become dilapidated. Nor did Comrade Zhou Enlai assume that he was always correct and hence attempt to intimidate others with his authority; instead, he was strict in analyzing himself and courageous in acknowledging and correcting his own defects and mistakes. As he always said: "When we have made mistakes, we should talk about them with everybody we meet so that we can both secure the comrades' supervision and assistance and provide points of reference for the comrades." He also sharply criticized those who were used to singing other

people's praise, saying: "Communists are not born communists. My own previous generation consisted of 'Shaoxin scribes' who constantly murmured about how 'a person must have great ambitions when he is young' and nonsense like that" (p 325). Such lofty thinking, fine qualities, and spirit of strict self-discipline stand as a model for our entire party. In their attempt to usurp the party and seize power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did their best to mount a deification movement, propagate individual superstition, turn the leader into a divinity, trumpet the idea that the leader's words were "the supreme criterion," that his "every word is truth," that a "single word of his is worth 10,000 words of others," that people must follow the practice of the "three loyalties" and "four unlimited devotions" in relation to their leader, and so forth. They thus severely sabotaged historical materialism. The entire developmental history of the party, and especially the history of the more than 20 years of the recent past, has somehow become perpetrated by superstition; the harm has been extremely great. It has served to undercut the relationship between the leaders and the masses, to sabotage the party's workstyle of seeking truth from facts, to trample on the party's system of democratic centralism, to restrain the thinking of the cadres and masses, to lead to the malicious fermenting of such remnant poison of feudal autocracy as "rule by the voice of one man alone," patriarchy, etc, and also to provide an opportunity for certain plotters and careerists to usurp the party and seize power. This is a lesson we can never forget.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has time and again emphasized that we should praise the workers, peasants, and soldiers more often, praise the older generation of revolutionaries more often, and propagate less on behalf of individuals. The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress also carried out an institutional reform for this purpose. These examples indicate that the party's workstyle of seeking truth from facts is being increasingly restored. In studying Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," and in treating individuals and the masses with the spirit of seeking truth from facts today, we should thus treat the directives of our superiors, treat ourselves and the masses, and treat the leadership of the state and the party with a thorough materialist spirit. In suggesting that we break down individual superstition, Marxism definitely does not mean asking the people not to believe in a great leader of the proletariat and his scientific system of thought, but it asks them to adopt a scientific attitude and not a feudal, superstitious attitude. Science is not subject to breakdowns. The Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought which are proved to be correct through practice are the guiding ideology of our party which should be energetically propagated with confidence and equanimity. We must have firm confidence in the scientific system of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, in the scientific theories of proletarian leaders, in the ideals of communism, and in the belief that socialism is ultimately going to overcome capitalism, and we should not waver. This is the standpoint and attitude that a thorough materialist should have.

III

Another important part of Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" is the use of a thorough materialist spirit of seeking truth from facts in opposing erroneous ideas, opposing "left" and right erroneous tendencies, and developing

the struggle between the two lines. We must stress opposition to the main tendency in a given period and not overlook the existence of other erroneous tendencies, much less oppose something as right which was originally "left" and thereby make it a case of more opposition and further its turn toward the "left" and its development toward the extreme. We should proceed from reality, oppose the "left" when there is "left" deviation, oppose the right when there is right deviation, and not resort to treating everything the same way. He must grasp the main current and be good at providing guidance, so as to make opposition to erroneous tendencies advance along a correct course. This is an experience and a lesson that our party has learned at a great price in the struggles of opposing devious tendencies throughout the period of democratic revolution and the periods of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The historical background of Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" was set in a complicated historical period of turbulence, with constant right and "left" interference and sabotage and sometimes the simultaneous presence of both. Over a fairly long period in particular, there was a series of three left-deviationist and left-opportunist lines that achieved the ruling position and hence brought great damage to the cause of the revolution. Comrade Zhou Enlai always stood together with Comrade Mao Zedong and others and proceeded to carry out the struggles in opposition to "left" and right deviations while seeking truth from facts. Many articles in Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" were the products and summing-up reports of the struggles between the two lines during that period. In the article "On the Party's Relations With the Kuomintang from 1924 to 1926," he analyzed how, during that great revolution, "the opportunism of Chen Duxiu" "continued to make very great mistakes during the Northern Expedition period" (pp 123-124), and how this became the principal cause of the failure of the great revolution. "A Study Concerning the Party's 'Sixth Congress,'" on the other hand, points out that the principal aspect of the "7 August" Conference convened in 1927 was correct, but that it "already contained the factor of adventurism" (p 174). "The main adventurism took shape after the enlarged Central Committee meeting of November 1927" (p 174). Therefore in the "Sixth Congress," convened in 1928, the spearhead of the struggle against deviationist tendencies was directed at left adventurism and commandism" (p 176). In "The Question Concerning the Work in Wuhan," written in September 1930, he pointed out the dangerous tendency of wishing to oppose "left" deviationist armed struggle by empty talk instead of leading the masses to engage in actual struggles on the part of the local leaders (p 51). In "The Theoretical Basis of the Lisan Line," written in December of the same year, he criticized the left opportunist mistake of the Lisan line. Since the left deviationist line of Wang Ming ruled over the Party Central Committee in 1931, it shortly spread to the central soviet area. Comrade Mao Zedong was excluded, and Comrade Zhou Enlai was asked to "take over the general responsibility of directing the war." In the "Telegram Concerning the Fourth 'Extermination Campaign,'" it was fully indicated that the victory of the fourth anti-"extermination campaign" resulted from the resolute resistance by comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and others to the left deviationist military line, and from their adherence to the original, correct battle principles formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong. At the Zunyi Conference in January 1935, Comrade Zhou Enlai stood together with Comrade Mao Zedong in criticizing the left opportunist line of Wang Ming and establishing the leading position of Comrade Mao Zedong in the entire party and entire army. From then on he was able, under the correct

leadership of the Marxist line, to bring China's new democratic revolution step by step toward nationwide victory. During this period, even though "left" and right deviations did occur, they were of local character. By the time of the socialist period, our country had carried out the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production. This was healthy in general, and its results were of major importance. But toward a later point, the speed of our socialist transformation greatly accelerated, and the heads of some comrades became hot; left deviationist thinking and impatient adventurism began to appear. With a sharp political perspective and the spirit of seeking truth from facts, Comrade Zhou Enlai sounded the alarm to the whole party and the people of the whole country: in his report to the Second CPPCC in January 1956, he pointed out that we must neither "commit the error of right conservatism" nor "commit the error of blind adventurism," but must oppose impetuosity and adventurism. In June of the same year, RENMIN RIBAO wrote an editorial on the basis of this spirit to stress that, "on the question of opposing impetuosity and adventures, we must adopt an attitude of seeking truth from facts." Very regrettably, Comrade Zhou Enlai's correct viewpoint was not accepted. By 1958, left adventurism swiftly became inflated and brought about serious losses. By the time of the Cultural Revolution it further developed into a left deviationist line and resulted in the 10-year catastrophe. These are all profound lessons.

Adhering to the thorough materialist spirit of seeking truth from facts to oppose erroneous tendencies, Comrade Zhou Enlai never considered that there was any question as to whether "left" or right was better; both of them were erroneous and had to be overcome. As early as 1930, Comrade Zhou Enlai had already pointed out, "You should all firmly oppose this notion that 'left' deviation is better than right deviation, and that at the present time we are afraid only of right deviation but not of 'left' deviation. We should know that a right turn is likely to hinder the revolution and make it shortlived, but a 'left' turn is also likely to hinder the revolution and make it shortlived" (p 52). In "On the United Front," Comrade Zhou Enlai cited a large number of historical facts and painful experiences and lessons in order to criticize the erroneous notion that "left" is better than right and that we should therefore deviate toward the "left" rather than to the right. He explained that the essence of the two was consistent. Compared to the treatment of the relationship between the enemy, ourselves and our friends, and the right to lead the revolution, "a right deviationist mistake often takes the enemy as a friend," whereas "a 'left' deviationist mistake often considers a friend to be an enemy" (p 209). "Whether in the case of a 'left' deviation or a right deviation, the peasants happen just to be not recognized; the peasants are just forgotten" (p 211). On the question of leading the revolution, "the right deviationists abandon their right to lead, whereas the 'left' deviationists isolate themselves and become 'soldierless commanders' and 'empty-rank commanders.'" It may be said that to deviate toward the right means sending out all one's own ranks, while to deviate toward the 'left' means pushing out all one's own ranks" (p 220). Just as some comrades have analogized, there can be little difference between the two dangers of a car on a bridge driving into the river from the left or from the right. In a certain sense, it is even harder to overcome a "left" deviationist error than a right deviationist error, because the idea of one's wanting to deviate toward the "left" rather than toward the right has existed in our country for a long time and hence has a very great influence on us. Comrade Chan Yun has said that from the angle of economic construction,

of course it also is not good for us to be too conservative and hence hinder the speed our construction should have. But, it is far easier to rectify conservatism than adventurism. Because once we have abundant materials, it is relatively easy to increase construction; but when our financial and material resources are insufficient, if we overexpand the scale of our construction, then it will not be so easy to contract it and serious waste will result. Here we are not saying that it is better to deviate toward the right than toward the "left," either; both must be resolutely opposed.

In applying the spirit of seeking truth from facts to the opposition to erroneous tendencies, Comrade Zhou Enlai stressed that we must put emphasis on solving the questions of ideological perception and ideological roots, and not on excluding a certain few persons. Some comrades "let go lightly of their opportunity to criticize the concepts of opportunism." "Little did they know that the roots of opportunism are very deep and can hardly be eliminated by the exclusion of certain few persons. The main thing is still to criticize all concepts of opportunism in order to enable comrades of the whole party to have a clear perception. Only in this way can the party's political line advance toward the correct path" (p 9). Practice proves that these views on the part of Comrade Zhou Enlai are correct and are still of great significance to our efforts to further eliminate the remnant poison of left deviationist ideas and to do a good job of handling the construction of our four modernizations. During the 30 years since the founding of our state, just like during the 28 years of our democratic revolution, there have existed "left" and right deviationist errors. But between the two, the "left" deviations have been far more salient and have lasted for far longer periods. Proceeding from their plot to usurp the party and seize power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did their best to instigate and utilize our party's left deviationist mistakes and push them toward the extreme, creating extremely great havoc as a result. Although Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been overthrown and put on trial, the remnant poison and influence of left deviationist thinking still remain, so that every step we take forward is liable to encounter great hindrance; they are still the main ideological obstacles affecting our readjustment of the national economy and our work on construction of the four modernizations. In studying Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," we must give full scope to the thorough materialist spirit of seeking truth from facts, oppose erroneous tendencies, especially continue to eliminate the influence of "left" deviationist thinking in our economic work and other work, adhere to the eight-character principles, with readjustment as their key, and gradually solve serious disproportionate development, so as to promote the national economy's steady development proportionately according to plan and to struggle for the realization of the four modernizations.

9255

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

MORE WOMEN JURISTS--Beijing, 6 Mar (XINHUA)--More than 3,800 women are now serving as judges, procurators and lawyers in China's local People's Courts and procuratorates at various levels, according to CHINA LEGAL SYSTEM, a weekly paper published by the Ministry of Justice. The paper says 1,200 women are judges or assistant judges, 2,200 are procurators or assistant procurators and 400 are lawyers. Women judges account for approximately 18 percent of the total in China's Higher People's Courts which are set up at the provincial and municipal level, 15 percent in the Intermediate People's Courts set up in cities and prefectures and 8 percent in the basic People's Courts at the county level. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 6 Mar 81]

WRITINGS OF LI DA--Beijing, 3 Mar (XINHUA)--The first volume of "Li Da's Writings," a four-volume work, has been published by the People's Publishing House and has gone on sale in Beijing. Li Da (1890-1966) was a founder of China's Communist Party. He devoted nearly half a century to the study and spread of Marxism until his death during the Cultural Revolution. Besides his study of Marxist philosophy he was also distinguished in the fields of economics and law. The first volume includes articles Li Da wrote for newspapers between 1919 and 3 works which were issued in book form at that time. The second and third volumes include his writings in Marxist philosophy and political economics during the 1930's. The fourth volume contains his work since 1949. Three more volumes are still in preparation. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1245 GMT 3 Mar 81 OW]

CSO: 4020

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BEIJING RADIO ON ENHANCING LEI FENG SPIRIT

OW040503 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 3 Mar 81

[Station commentary: "Carry Forward the Lei Feng Spirit"]

[Text] On 5 March 1963, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong issued the call to learn from the example of Lei Feng. During the last 18 years, Lei Feng, an ordinary man who displayed extraordinary spirit, has become a brilliant example for the whole nation, especially among the young.

Lei Feng was an ordinary soldier. He was clear about what to love and what to hate, was as good as his words, worked for the public interest without considering his own interest, lived plainly and took pleasure in helping others. He wholeheartedly served the people and did his utmost to give light and warmth to others. These fine qualities are the concentrated expression of the moral standards of new China's young generation. The Lei Feng spirit has become the symbol of our social mood.

At present, our country is building a socialist civilization, both materially and spiritually. The high communist consciousness and morality displayed by Lei Feng are concrete examples of the socialist spiritual civilization. Lei Feng's model deeds provide us with a brilliant example of translating the socialist spiritual civilization into practice and action. The Lei Feng spirit is not out-of-date today. On the contrary, it has great practical significance. We should continue to vigorously publicize the Lei Feng spirit and learn from his example. We should make the Lei Feng spirit develop in the whole country, especially among the young.

In learning from Lei Feng, we should work, study, live and fight as Lei Feng did. The emergence of thousands upon thousands of Lei Fengs among the people, young and old, will undoubtedly have an important effect on the social atmosphere, demoralized by Lin Biao and the gang of four, and on the success of the four modernizations.

The young are the future of our motherland. To show concern for the young is to show concern for the future and destiny of our motherland. Schools, CYL organizations and the whole society should show concern for the growth of the younger generation. They should combine the campaign to learn from Lei Feng with the drive to build the socialist spiritual civilization and to implement the education policy on the development of the young in an all-round way--morally, intellectually and physically. They should launch among activities young people to stress civil manners, propriety, cleanliness, order and morality and pay attention to spiritual, language, behavioral and environmental beauty. It is necessary to regard the promotion and development of the Lei Feng spirit as an important content in building the socialist spiritual

civilization and strive to bring up a new socialist generation who possess high ideals and moral standards and are knowledgeable and healthy.

The activities to learn from Lei Feng and foster a new social atmosphere are being launched in both urban and rural areas. We believe that people throughout the country, especially the younger generation, will follow Comrade Lei Feng's example and contribute to the building of a socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

GANSU MILITARY DISTRICT--Between 10 and 14 February the Gansu Provincial Military District convened a meeting of party secretaries at division level to discuss ways to study and publicize the guidelines of the Party Central Committee work conference. It was stated at the meeting: Following the transmitting of the documents of the Party Central Committee work conference, party organizations at all levels in the Gansu military district organized cadres to concentrate 5 to 8 days on studying. There were some problems. Some cadres failed to study the documents in light of reality and the specific situation in their own units. Some were merely content with oral statements at discussions and failed to solve ideological problems. The meeting called on all cadres to match words with deeds and take into account realities in studying the central documents. [SK260824 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 24 Feb 81 SK]

TIANJIN AIR DEFENSE CONFERENCE--From 18 to 21 February, the Tianjin municipality held a conference of the people's anti-aircraft defense work. Attending the conference and giving speeches were Hao Tianyi, vice mayor, and Cao Xikang, commander of the garrison. The participants pledged to implement the principle of readjusting the national economy and integrate the people's anti-aircraft defense with urban construction and with urban defense work. They also pledged to strengthen and reform the existing people's anti-aircraft defense installations, to enable the people's air defense work to conform to the four modernizations. The participants have also made plans for this year's people's anti-aircraft defense work. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 21 Feb 81 HK]

BOOKS ON REVOLUTIONARY HEROES--Beijing, 5 Mar (XINHUA)--Compiled by the leading organ of the PLA air force, a six-volume "Collection of Revolutionary Heroes" will soon be distributed to PLA units as teaching materials for conducting education on revolutionary traditions and building a civilization with socialist spirit among the masses of cadres and fighters. The six volumes praise heroic deeds during the civil war of liberation, the war of resistance against Japan, the Korean war as well as in defending the motherland. The sixth volume particularly deals with the heroic and exemplary deeds committed by the PLA air force since its establishment 30 years ago. [Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 0016 GMT 5 Mar 81 OW]

GUANGDONG LEI FENG ACTIVITIES--The commanders and fighters of the Guangdong Military District are striving to be the models of learning from Lei Feng, establishing a new work style and building socialist spiritual civilization. They are reviewing the advanced deeds of Lei Feng and the significance of such activities, citing the advanced persons and deeds and holding education courses. They are also publicizing Lei Feng's spirit, supporting the local socialist construction and doing good things for the people. [HK070740 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 5 Mar 81 HK]

GUANGZHOU CYL-PLA ACTIVITIES--On the morning of 2 March, 8,000 CYL members and young people from the PLA army, navy and air force units stationed in Guangzhou took part in cleaning the railway station, motor vehicle stations, piers and other areas and helped the elderly people and children. They also planted trees, in order to learn from Lei Feng through practical actions and build socialist spiritual civilization. Also taking part in this work were Huang Ronghai, deputy commander of the Guangzhou PLA units, Deputy Political Commissar Yang Shugen, and other leading comrades of the Guangzhou PLA units. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT 2 Mar 81 HK]

PLA TECHNOLOGICAL ACHIEVEMENTS--Beijing, 3 Mar (XINHUA)--The PLA general logistics department recently issued orders of commendation for 15 scientific and technological achievements, including 3 first class and 12 second class commendations. Winning first class commendations are: 782-type compound crystalline amino acid intravenous injection fluid [Fu he jie jing an ji suan jing mai zhu she ye 5958 0678 4814 2533 8637 1015 6808 7234 9115 3137 1410 3210], self-regulating traction bed [zhi kong qian yin chuang 5261 2235 3677 1714 1643] and the display angle method of eliminate and measure magnetic compass autodyne [xian shi jiao fa xiao chu yu ce ding ci luo jing zi cha 7359 4355 6037 3127 3194 7110 5280 3261 1353 4318 5012 4842 5261 1567]. The last is a new method developed by Gao Chengbin of the transport technology school. [Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 0037 GMT 3 Mar 81 OW]

NANJING PLA FORUM--A forum on learning from Lei Feng held by Nanjing PLA units ended on 26 February. Attending the meeting were representatives of advanced units including the Good 8th Company on Nanjing Road, the Hardbone 6th Company and the Wage Jie Squad. At the conclusion of the meeting, Du Ping, political commissar of Nanjing PLA units, set specific demands on how to unfold activities to learn from Lei Feng and from heroes and models and to build a highly developed spiritual civilization. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Feb 81 OW]

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' EDITORIAL ON EDUCATION

OW070601 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0756 GMT 6 Mar 81

[Report on RENMIN RIBAO 6 March frontpage editorial: "Nationality Education Should Be Developed While Undergoing Readjustment"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Mar (XINHUA)--The editorial says: The four modernizations and prosperous development in the minority nationality areas require a large number of experienced personnel and the development of school education of various categories. Without a large number of cadres of minority nationalities who uphold the socialist road and the party's leadership and possess professional knowledge and ability--in particular, experienced scientific, technical and management personnel--it will be impossible to eliminate the de facto inequality among nationalities and to fundamentally solve the nationality problem in China. The most far-sighted approach to helping minority nationalities is to begin with good education for training and bringing up experienced people. "Education of the people takes a hundred years to bear fruit." Even if we begin immediately, it will take many years to get results. If we do not start now, our cause will be delayed or lost.

The editorial points out: To develop the nationality education, it is imperative to earnestly implement the party's nationality policy, to eliminate the influence of leftist ideas and to truly respect and protect the minority nationalities' rights to national equality and national self-management in political, economic, cultural and educational affairs. We should take into consideration the practical conditions of the various nationalities. By no means should we mechanically transplant the ways of doing things in the Han nationality area to minority nationality areas nor should we apply uniform methods in different minority nationality areas. The state should adopt special measures to help establish educational systems compatible with the characteristics of the minority nationality areas. At present, educational undertakings in the minority nationality areas should also implement the principle of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement" and strive for steady development after the soonest possible restoration and necessary readjustment.

The editorial says: In view of the differing conditions of the various minority nationalities, popularizing primary education in areas inhabited by minority nationalities is a formidable and arduous task. We must formulate effective and practical plans in accordance with the specific conditions of the various nationality areas and carry them out step by step.

To develop the secondary and primary education for minority nationalities, the educational systems, teaching materials and teaching methods must be compatible with their characteristics. For nationalities who have their own spoken and written languages, teaching must be conducted in their own spoken and written languages. After their own languages are mastered, the Han language may be taught concurrently. For nationalities who have no written language of their own but who have their own particular spoken language, teaching should also be aided by use of their own spoken language. The length of schooling, school enrollment ages and so on should also be specified in line with the practical conditions and should be flexible.

The editorial proposes: A number of ways and methods should be applied in developing secondary technical and higher education for the minority nationalities. It is necessary to run well and expand the institutes for minority nationalities and strengthen the institutes of higher education and secondary technical schools already existing in national autonomous areas. Key universities and colleges throughout the country and ordinary universities and colleges in provinces and autonomous regions where the minority nationality people are comparatively great in number should immediately run special classes for minority nationality people. Spare-time colleges should also be quickly established in nationality areas.

The editorial points out: The greatest trouble with the nationality education at present is the lack of competent teachers of minority nationalities. Therefore, the immediate urgent task is to energetically strengthen and develop the education of nationality teachers. All autonomous regions and those provinces with a great number of nationality people must establish nationality colleges and schools for nationality people and run them well. At the same time, incumbent teachers of minority nationality should be given refresher course training to raise their ability.

The editorial says: More funds are needed for the development of nationality education. The state's nationality education appropriations must be used as such and should never be used for any other purposes or partially or wholly withheld. The fundamental guarantee for developing nationality education is the strengthening and improvement of the party's leadership. Local party committees and governments in areas entrusted with the task of nationality education must attach great importance to this major political work of nationality education and render it a success in observance of the party's nationality policy.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVEMENTS IN LAW SCHOOL TRAINING SUGGESTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 81 p 5

[Article by Luo Dianrong [5012 0368 2837]: "Some Suggestions on Improving the Teaching of Law"]

[Text] Summary: It is necessary to further liberate thought, to launch academic discussions, to explore many new questions, to correlate correctly the relationship between "broad" and "special," to inculcate the moral character into one devoted to justice and the sanctity of law, so that students of law will be imbued with a spirit of faithfulness to factual truth, to the provisions of the law and to the duties entrusted to them.

Since the late fifties, graduates of political science and law colleges have been found rather lacking in basic cultural as well as professional knowledge. Some have gone through all the Soviet Russian law courses, some have mainly studied all law-related sections of the [Marxist] classical literature, but their basic training and professional training has been inadequate. A saying was current at that time: graduates from law colleges are "wielders of knives" (meaning: insensitive to democracy, merely having learned the methods of dictatorship). At school they only dealt with questions of position, viewpoint and method. The teaching content rather wanted to give "quantitatively little but the essentials." Up to now this problem has not yet been solved. To improve teaching at our political science and law colleges and find a solution for the lack of a sufficient number of and sufficiently qualified judicial cadres, it is our opinion that the following questions must be thoroughly discussed and resolved.

1. It is necessary to further liberate our thought, launch academic discussions and start to explore a great number of new questions. This is the key to promoting legal studies in our country and it is also the key to inspire our teachers to forge ahead enthusiastically and raise the quality of education. Even though in certain areas organizations of a mass character have been set up for the study of law and new books on the science of law have been published, there has been no wide-ranging discussion on all important legal theories such as are necessary to have the teachers in political science and law colleges constitute a basic force on the science of law front. For instance, when the law of the capitalist countries was discussed in the past, the discussion merely dealt with its class character and hypocritical nature, as if other aspects of it were not worth looking at. And now,

only a few sentences are additionally thrown in as references and examples and that is all, through fear of being unable to give a clear account of it. Actually, how should we really look at this problem? In my opinion the law of the capitalist countries, in its overall substance, is a manifestation of the class aspirations of the bourgeoisie and is to serve the consolidation and protection of the capitalist system. However, we must also realistically examine and study the development of law in the capitalist countries. In some capitalist countries the political parties of the working class have already become a force to be reckoned with in the political life of their society or even in the legislative gremia where they have fought all along for legislation beneficial to the working class and to other working people. Some legislation in capitalist countries, such as the law for the protection of the environment in Japan, has come about domestically by a strong movement and struggle of mass character by the people. One can hardly say that the working classes in the capitalist countries, with their struggle inside and outside of parliaments, have had no impact at all on the legislations of their countries. One can also hardly say that the result of all their struggles is tantamount to zero. In reality, as early as at the time of the bourgeois antifeudal revolutionary struggle, the workers, handicraftsmen and peasants all participated in that struggle. We must not credit all the achievements of that time to the account of the bourgeoisie, and also we must not limit ourselves to pointing out the class character and hypocritical nature of the democratic freedoms of which the bourgeoisie boasts. Of course, as long as the bourgeoisie has not yet lost its dominant position in the political life of a country and as long as the gradual political reforms have not yet touched the capitalist system of private ownership, the law of the capitalist countries, in its overall substance, has not yet changed its original class character. However, we cannot overlook the fact that the working class and its political parties have registered increasing gains in the political life of their countries, and we cannot overlook that part of the legislation that was beneficial to the working class and the working people, gained as a result of their struggle. Furthermore, there is also much useful reference material in the legislation of capitalist countries that relates to the protection of the environment and natural resources, science and technology, education and economic management. We may say with certainty that if the working class in these countries should one day come to power, they surely would not abolish each and every one of these laws as they would abolish laws that protect the capitalist system of private ownership or laws that are harmful to the interests of the working class and other working people. In our academic discussions we must give up the evil practice of simply branding all divergent opinions as bourgeois viewpoints. Only if we launch academic discussions can the atmosphere of academic research be enlivened and the education in the science of law take a big stride toward progressive development.

2. In order to nurture qualified legal experts as required by the four modernizations, education in the science of law must correctly correlate the relationship between "broad" and "special." In the past, under the disturbing influence of the leftist ideology, basic training was neglected. Now in single-faculty political science and law colleges there will be only such basic courses as four political theory classes, courses in Chinese, foreign languages, logic, etc, and in addition to that only basic courses and specialized courses in law. This is inadequate considering the tasks that graduates in law will in future have to shoulder. In the course of our modernization projects, the state will promulgate more and more laws on economic subjects. To fully comprehend the legal provisions involved in this area, the economic subjects themselves must be well understood first. However,

the one-faculty political science and law colleges will have only the common courses of political economics and no other courses in economics. Besides, some students may want to start out with courses in political science, some may be interested in criminal psychology, some may first want to study a second foreign language, but in the single-faculty political science and law colleges there are no possibilities to institute such courses. Ever since the fifties, there has been an extremely rapid development of science and technology in our country, there has been more and more intermingling and overlapping between the liberal arts and the science spheres, producing not only such new departments of science as information theory, theory of control, but also such peripheral sciences as systems engineering, futurology and environmental science. It is therefore an urgent necessity to introduce the students to new branches of science and new developmental trends, and to widen their field of vision. Whether in the liberal arts or in the sciences, the development up to now has shown a general trend toward increasing division of labor with an ever increasing comprehensiveness. It is almost impossible now to study only one discipline in isolation. Only on the basis of "broadness" can "specialization" be achieved. Without a firm rudimentary knowledge, the pursuit of a specialization can hardly be successful. At the same time as students receive instructions in a relatively wide-ranging rudimentary knowledge, they must be made to master the method of self-study under the guidance of a professor and thus acquire the fine habit of independent studies. In this way, even though the specialized courses at the college might have been somewhat limited, the students can, after graduation, rely on the rudimentary knowledge they have mastered and their habit of self-study to continue studies in their specialization and achieve good progress. At the present time when scientific knowledge changes with each passing day, even a well-mastered specialization is faced with an aging problem. A foreign estimate has it that prior to the 18th century knowledge renewed itself about every 80 years, this was reduced to about 30 years in the 19th century and is now about 5 to 10 years. The young people first entering college are mostly about 20 years old, quick of mind, eager to think and ponder, and full of zeal in their pursuit of knowledge, but their foundations and inclinations are all different. It is therefore not only to provide them with a good foundation that a fairly wide-ranging curriculum should be set up, but also to suit their original foundations and inclinations that a fairly large choice of courses should be provided for their selection. The present curricula at the political science and law colleges are very far from fulfilling these demands. One solution would be to either expand the present single-faculty political science and law colleges into comprehensive universities or to actively create conditions by expanding the area of elective courses and integrating well the required and elective courses. Otherwise it will be impossible to provide instruction commensurate with the capacity of the students and to get away from the method of "cutting everything with one knife," a method followed for many years in the teaching of law.

3. In legal education it is necessary to build up the moral character into one of devotion to justice and the sanctity of law so that the law college graduates will be imbued with a spirit of faithfulness to factual truth, to the provisions of the law and to the duties that will be entrusted to them. There are at present still people in leadership positions in certain areas who will interfere in cases of law violations by members of cadre families and who will dismiss from office judicial personnel who are honestly and justly carrying out the law and who dare to resist pressures from outside. In certain sections of the judicial personnel there still exists the unwholesome custom of trimming the sail to the wind, submitting to

powers and influences, paying attention to connections, entering by the back door, etc. It is therefore necessary not only in actual work and propaganda work to promote a mentality and workstyle of perfect unselfishness and reliance on factual truth, but also to foster among the law students, the coming generation of judicial personnel, a new habit of courageously breaking with all symptoms of feudal privileges and bourgeois decadence. At every stage of our history there have been incorrupt officials who were steadfast and upright and who strictly enforced the law. There have also been many such men in the history of other countries. In England, for instance, in the middle ages, there was a judge by the name of Thomas Moore. In his writings he is remembered for contradicting the prevailing argument that no action by a king can violate the law. He also exposed mercilessly the sycophants among officials and judges; he was not afraid of threats and would not accept favors or bribes. His spirit of courageously fighting all evil powers has exercised a certain influence in European history and was also praised by Engels. Of course, the objectives served by the action of those just and upright judges in Chinese and foreign history were different from those of our days, but their spirit of rising death at their posts is still worthy of our study and emulation. In fostering this kind of superior character among our students, the words and deeds of the leadership in our schools and the words and deeds of our professors will play an extremely important role.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC SETS COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMS DATE

OW071334 Beijing XINHUA in English 1311 GMT 7 Mar 81

[Text] Beijing, March 7 (XINHUA)--Overseas Chinese and students from Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan will sit separate exams again this year for admission to Chinese colleges in the fall.

The Chinese Ministry of Education introduced the system last year to suit the needs of students with education timetables that do not correspond to the Chinese program.

The Ministry and the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs said today that any single Overseas Chinese or compatriot under the age of 28 who has senior middle school education or the equivalent can apply to take the exams.

Applications must be filed between June 6 and 10 in Guangzhou (Canton), Jimei in Xiamen (Amoy), Dandong in Liaoning Province, or in Hongkong or Macao. The exams will be held from June 22 to 24 at Guangzhou, Jimei and Dandong.

Overseas Chinese applicants should get entry visas from Chinese embassies or consulates in their countries of residence.

The ministry said that students who apply for scientific, industrial, agricultural and medical courses will be required to sit exams in political science, Chinese language, mathematics, physics, chemistry and foreign languages with an additional biology exam for medical students.

Students applying for courses in the arts will sit exams in political science, Chinese and foreign languages, history and geography. A special mathematics exam will be set for students applying to study economic subjects.

Those who want to attend preparatory courses before the entrance exams can apply to study at the Guangzhou and Jimei schools for returned Overseas Chinese.

The Ministry said that after graduation, students who are willing to stay in China will be assigned jobs by the government.

BRIEFS

SUN YAT-SEN'S BIOGRAPHY--Beijing, 9 Mar (XINHUA)--The Shanghai People's Publishing House has just published a biography of Dr Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), the pioneer of China's 1911 democratic revolution, said the publishing house today. The book details Sun Yat-sen's life and examines his overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and establishment of the first Chinese Republic, as well as his development of the "Three People's Principles" of nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood. The society for the study of the 1911 Revolution in Zhejiang Province said it is collecting and editing biographies of leaders and historical records of the revolution and the first of several volumes of the work will come off the press by the end of this year. Zhejiang Province in East China was one of Sun Yat-sen's organizational hubs in the revolution, the society was specially established for the study of the history of the revolution. Two other books to be published by the Chonghua Book Company, are about leaders of, most significantly, the Wuchang uprising among others, in Hubei Province, Sun Yat-sen's another important base, written by He Jiaofei, a member of the Hubei Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The two books have biographies of 490 figures. [Text] [OW10011 Beijing XINHUA in English 1222 GMT 9 Mar 81 OW]

LU XUN CENTENNIAL BOOKS--Beijing, 9 Mar (XINHUA)--More than 70 titles will be published in China to mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great writer Lu Xun on 25 September, according to the State Publication Bureau. The People's Literature Publishing House will issue the 16-volume "Complete Works of Lu Xun", the work contains the letters and diaries found since the previous 10-volume edition in 1958 and is the most complete to date. The Relics Publishing House plans to print a three-part "Collected Manuscripts of Lu Xun." It gathers Lu Xun's essays and letters with photocopies of original manuscripts. The manuscripts will be printed in both thread-bound and paper-back editions, the thread-bound version uses a high quality paper traditionally used in Chinese painting and calligraphy; the paper is in color offset printing. A new collection of the "Works of Lu Xun in Japanese" is going to press in the Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House. The works, accompanied by Chinese translations, contain 13 essays and transcripts of talks in Shanghai and letters the writer exchanged with Japanese friends in the mid-30's. A long photo album portraying the life of Lu Xun has been compiled by his son Zhou Haiying and printed by the People's Fine Arts Publishing House. Four reminiscences by his contemporaries and essays examining his life and works issued by Lu Xun Research Institutes will also be published. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 9 Mar 81 OW]

JUVENILE PROBLEMS FORUM--Hangzhou, 28 Feb (XINHUA)--A week-long National Forum on Youth and Juvenile issues ended here yesterday. The forum was sponsored by the newly established youth and juvenile over 80 scientists, educators and youth leaders attended the forum which focused on the characteristics of the present-day youth, education and government youth policies. The forum said research into youth is becoming increasingly important in the light of nationwide efforts by the Communist Party to strengthen education of young people. The forum suggested the studies on youth and juveniles should involve various disciplines including physiology, psychology pedagogy, ethics and sociology. They urged scientists of related fields to concern themselves with youth research. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 28 Feb 81 OW]

ACADEMIC DEGREES COMMITTEE FORMATION--Beijing, 28 Feb (XINHUA)--The Chinese Academy of Sciences has formed an academic degrees committee chaired by Professor Feng Depel. Professor Feng Depel, a noted physiologist and biologist, is vice president of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of Physiology in Shanghai and a department member of the Academy of Sciences. The committee will examine and verify the research units and branches of the academy which are entitled to grant academic degrees and to examine and decide nominations of the academic degrees evaluation committees of these units and branches. The vice chairmen of the committee are Huang Kun, a solid state physicist and director of the Institute of Semiconductors, and Zhang Wensong, deputy secretary general, of the Academy of Sciences. The 26-member committee includes some of China's best-known mathematicians, physicists, geologists, chemists, biologists, an oceanography, and a zoologist. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 28 Feb 81 OW]

MORE UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS--Beijing, 5 Mar (XINHUA)--A total of 3,250,000 square meters of new classroom and dormitory space were built in higher educational institutes across China in 1980, the most in the last 30 years, one hundred fifty-eight million yuan were spent last year on new buildings at the 38 major educational institutes directly under the Ministry of Education, a great increase over 1979. The money went toward a total of 600,000 square meters of classrooms, dormitories, laboratories and sports facilities. Heading the list in constructions was Sichuan Province, where a total 280,000 square meters of new buildings at higher educational institutions were added last year. Around 260,000 square meters were added in both Shandong and Jiangsu Provinces and around 220,000 square meters in Liaoning Province. The floor space of new buildings added at 34 higher educational institutes in Shaanxi Province amounts to the total for new construction in 1978 and 1979. In Shanghai last year, floor space on campuses was increased by 34 percent over 1979, seven other provinces also built new campus buildings. The new buildings helped accommodate the 270,000 new college students enrolled last year in China. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 5 Mar 81 OW]

JIANGSU CHRISTIAN SEMINARY--Nanjing, 1 Mar (XINHUA)--The Nanjing Union Theological Seminary in Jiangsu Province, East China, marked its reopening Saturday by a service attended by its first group of 47 students after it was closed down in 1966. The service ended with a blessing by Bishop Ding Guangxun, president of the Seminary. The students, including 18 women, come from all parts of the country. All of them have at least a senior middle school education. During their 4 years' training, they will study the new testament, the old testament, and history of the Israeli nation. Later on, courses will open on study of the Bible, Christianity, history of the church and hymns. Vice President Chen Zemin of the seminary said, the purpose for reopening

the institute is to train people for the priesthood and researchers in Christianity. The seminary was first established in 1952 and enrolled several hundred students in the following years before the "Cultural Revolution." [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 1 Mar 81 OW]

MINORITY CULTURE NEWS--Beijing, 6 Mar (XINHUA)--Nearly 59 million books were published in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Northwest China, last year, according to local publishing houses. About 10.4 million of them were in the languages of Xinjiang's 12 minority nationalities. The publishers said the books included dictionaries, teach-yourself textbooks on mathematics, physics, chemistry and foreign languages, and literary works. A publishing house in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, South China, has produced a selection of folk songs, love songs, nursery rhymes, ritual songs and historical narratives of the Dong minority people. An exhibition of engravings by artists of a number of minority nationalities is now being staged in Xining, capital of Qinghai Province, Northwest China, some of the works on show have been reproduced in newspapers and shown overseas. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 6 Mar 81 OW]

POPULATION GROWTH RATES' DECLINE--Beijing, 9 Mar (XINHUA)--Natural population growth rates in Shandong, Zhejiang, Shaanxi, Jiangxi and Henan Provinces last year were much lower than the 1980 national average of less than 11 per thousand, according to provincial authorities. The population growth rate in Shandong Province, which has 73 million people, dropped to 7.03 per thousand last year, 3.76 per thousand less than in 1979. Some 100,000 fewer babies were born in Zhejiang Province last year, compared to 1979's figure. The birth rate was the lowest in the past 30 years. The province's population growth rate last year was 7.07 per thousand. In Shaanxi Province, the population growth rate in 1980 was 7.19 per thousand. More than 458,000 couples in the province who have 1 child have decided to bear no more children, the authorities said. The population growth rates in Jiangxi and Henan Provinces fell respectively from 13.74 per thousand in 1979 to 9.11 per thousand in 1980 and from 12.88 per thousand in 1979 to 9.53 per thousand last year. The decline of the population growth rate is attributed to late marriage, late child bearing, family planning, education and encouragement of one-child families, the authorities said. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 9 Mar 81 OW]

ACADEMIC DEGREES COMMITTEE MEMBERS--Beijing, 27 Feb (XINHUA)--The academic degrees committee of the Chinese Academy of Sciences was established on 24 February. The committee is composed of 26 members including scholars, specialists and leading cadres. They are: Feng Depai, chairman; Huang Kun and Zhang Wensong, vice chairmen; and Ma Dayou, Ma Xingyuan, Wang Zhijiang, Ye Duzheng, Yan Dongsheng, Wang You, Wu Jikang, Wu Wenjun, Wu Zhonghua, Li Xun, Chen Biao, Zou Zhengliu, Zhang Zhiyi, Tu Guangchi, Guo Musun, Tan Gaosheng, Qian Renyuan, Qian Zhidao, Qian Linzhao, Cao Tianqin, Huang Bingwei, Zheng Chengkui and Peng Huanwu. [Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 0802 GMT 27 Feb 81 OW]

FUJIAN YOUTH EDUCATION GROUP--The Fujian Provincial Young People and Juvenile Education Leadership Group has been established with Li Zhengting as the leader and Cai Li and Zhang Dexin as Deputy leaders. On the evening of 20 February, the newly established group held its first meeting, which pointed out the importance of the group's work involving the future of the party and state and the destiny of the nation. The participants demanded that the departments concerned seriously study the characteristics of the young people and juveniles and help them solve their problems. A very outstanding issue of educating the young people and juveniles is establishing

places for them to conduct their activities. The leadership of the party and government and the departments concerned must grasp the building of areas from the young people and juveniles to conduct their activities in order to enliven the cultural life of the young people and juveniles. To learn from Lei Feng and establish a new work style is a good form of educating the young people and juveniles to spontaneously boycott bourgeois thinking and take the socialist road. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 28 Feb 81 HK]

ACTING CULTURE MINISTER--An award ceremony for China's most popular songs was held in Beijing on the evening of 2 March. Zhou Weizhi, acting minister of culture, spoke at the gathering, calling on musicians to show concern for the people's cultural life and create more fine songs to meet their needs. The popular song contest was jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and the Chinese musicians association. [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 2 Mar 81 OW]

SICHUAN CYL PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE--From 25 to 26 February, the Propaganda Department of the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee and the Sichuan Provincial CYL Committee jointly held a conference to discuss the issue of how to publicize the building of socialist spiritual civilization throughout the province. The participants held that it is necessary to enable the cadres and masses to deeply understand the pressing nature of grasping the work of building socialist spiritual civilization. They pointed out that everyone should spontaneously talk about civilization and make contributions to building spiritual civilization. The party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership with the full cooperation of all trades and professions. Building socialist spiritual civilization is a permanent task, which we must persist in performing unremittingly. The Communist Party members and CYL members must actively take the lead in building socialist spiritual civilization and correct the party and CYL work style. The leading cadres must set an example for the others and be the models of spiritual civilization. [HK040811 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Feb 81 HK]

SICHUAN CYL RALLY--On the morning of 28 February, the Sichuan Provincial and the Chengdu Municipal CYL Committees held a mobilization rally of the young people and juveniles to learn from Lei Feng and establish a new work style. Some 1,500 persons took part in the rally. Also present at the rally were He Haozhu, Zhang Lixing, Liu Haiquan and (Xiong Yudong), responsible comrades of the province and municipality. Wang Zhenjiang, secretary of the Sichuan Provincial CYL Committee, presided over the rally. The participants pledged to stir up an upsurge of learning from Lei Feng and be the vanguards of building socialist spiritual civilization. Zhang Lixing, Standing Committee member of the Provincial CCP Committee, gave a speech at the rally. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Feb 81 HK]

SICHUAN TALENT FORUM--On 27 February, the Sichuan Science Association held a forum of talented persons. During the forum, (Hu Zhiying) of the National Preparatory Group for the study of talented persons, introduced the development of the study of talented persons in China. [She Zengde] of the Chengdu Municipal Preparatory Group for the study of talented persons conveyed the spirit of the first Chinese seminar on the study of talented persons held in Hefei which introduced this study in the country. The participants pledged to actively get mobilized, present theses and hold the provincial seminar on the study of talented persons in the second quarter of this year. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Feb 81 HK]

SHANGHAI PUBLICATION--Beijing, 28 Feb (XINHUA)--A "World's Who Who" has been published by the Shanghai Cishu Publishing House. The 1.6-million-word book contains more than 4,000 entries on famous personalities in the world. Most of them are living persons; some of them are deceased persons who were highly influential around the Second World War period. The book has a name index in both Chinese and English. [Beijing Xinhua Domestic Service in Chinese 0141 GMT 28 Feb 81 OW]

JIANGSU CYL FORUM--The Jiangsu Provincial CYL Committee held a forum on learning from Lei Feng in Nanjing on 28 February. More than 40 people attended the meeting. They included representatives of advanced collectives and individuals from Nanjing, Wuxi and Xuzhou and of colleges and universities in Nanjing. (Zhu Xiancheng), deputy secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CYL Committee, spoke at the meeting. He called on CYL organizations at various levels to quickly bring about an upsurge in learning from Lei Feng throughout the province. [OW021101 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Feb 81 OW]

SHANGHAI UNIVERSITY PARTY CONGRESS--The Fifth Congress of Party Members of Shanghai's Jiaotong University was held from 26 to 28 February to discuss how to strengthen and perfect the party leadership. It was pointed out at the meeting that in order to fulfill the various tasks of Jiaotong University, it is first necessary to step up party building. To this end, the university's party committee should give priority to the building of party organizations and the contingent of cadres, to ideological-political work and to the study of Marxism and Leninism. Concrete measures for improving the party leadership over the school were also discussed at the meeting. Important speeches were delivered by Secretary Xia Zhengnong of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Vice Mayor Yang Kai. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Mar 81 OW]

NINGXIA EDUCATION DISCIPLINE CIRCULAR--On 28 February, the Ningxia Regional Education Bureau issued a circular which demanded that the universities, middle and primary schools in the region strengthen education on discipline when the new school term begins and seriously do a good job of ideology and politics. Institutes of higher learning must follow the spirit of the central workconference and seriously study the students' ideological and political situation, it is necessary to persist in education on the four basic principles and strengthen the party concept, the middle and primary schools must integrate education on discipline with the activities of learning from Lei Feng and establishing a new work style. All schools must seriously investigate and study the various problems that have appeared in the current new situation. The circular pointed out that in conducting disciplinary education, it is necessary to consistently persist in direct education, regarding a small number of students who have violated discipline. It is necessary to stress education and salvation, as for those who refuse to repent despite repeated persuasion and whose violations are serious. It is necessary to impose proper penalties on them. The school party organizations must strengthen their leadership over this task. [Yinchuan Ningxia Regional Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 March 81 HK]

HAINAN RURAL CULTURE MEETING--From 18 to 23 February, the Hainan Han District held an on-the-spot meeting on cultural work of the masses. Some 110 persons took part in the meeting. (Chen Kegong), Standing Committee member of the Hainan Regional CCP Committee and director of the Hainan Propaganda Department, also attended the meeting and spoke. Members from the various cultural departments introduced their experiences at the meeting. During the meeting, the participants visited the cultural installations in two communes, seriously discussed the issue of how to further

develop the cultural cause in the countryside and pointed out that it is necessary to establish various cultural and entertainment activities, in order to satisfy the peasants' needs. They pledged to set up cultural stations in all the communes this year, run these stations well, set up cultural centers in two-thirds of the communes throughout Hainan by 1985 and build the masses' art halls and cultural halls in various countries. [HK040709 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 26 Feb 81 HK]

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